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ABSTRACT

This is the second volume of articles produced at the 1982 Summer Institute of Linguistics of the Linguistics Society of the Philippines. Seven articles from this conference appear in Volume 5, Number 1, grouped under Sections I and II. The remaining four papers, grouped under Section III, appear in this volume and deal with a variety of topics having to do with narrative discourse. "The Use of Reported Speech and Quote Formula Selection in Kagan-Kalagan" by Dag Wendel deals with reported speech and dialogue in narrative discourse, especially from the standpoint of accounting for variations in the shape of formulas of quotations. "Stative Verbs at Peak in Agusan Manobo Narrative Discourse" by Ronald L. Schumacher suggests an emotive system conveyed by statives that enhances great moments of stories in that language. "Demonstratives and the Plot in Yakan" by Dietlinde Behrens and Austin Hale looks at the role of demonstratives (deictics) in Yakan narrative, finding that a hypothesis relating the use of various deictics to the progress of the plot is more satisfactory than initial hypotheses explaining deictics in terms of emphasis (prominence) or relative location. "Focal Content in Sama Bangingi Narrative Discourse" by Jo Ann Gault considers the crucial role of demonstratives and some similar elements in marking the focal content of a story, as distinct from its eventline. (Author/MSE)

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INTRODUCTION

Robert E. Longacre
Summer Institute of Linguistics

This is the second volume of articles produced at the research conference held at the study center of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (Nasuli, Bukidnon, Philippines) for two months in the summer of 1982. Seven articles from this conference appear in SIPL 5.1 and are grouped under two heads. Those in Section I reflect more general concerns which range over several discourse types in a given language. The papers in Section II deal with hortatory discourse. The third group of papers are those which appear in this volume and deal with a variety of topics having to do with narrative discourse.

The paper of Wendel (Kagan-Kalagan) deals with reported speech and dialogue in narrative discourse, especially from the standpoint of accounting for variations in the shape of formulas of quotations. That formulas of quotations do vary, both in form and in position (in many languages) is indisputable. If such variation is not random but patterned (as discourse analysis assumes) then this variation must be explained. Wendel makes a good start in raising these questions and in suggesting fruitful directions to turn in search of answers, as does Jannette Forster whose paper on the use of dialogue in a Dibabawon narrative, appears in Philippine Journal of Linguistics, Vol.14, No.1, June, 1983.

While Wendel's paper uses the concept of discourse peak (a high point in the profile of a story), the paper by Schumacher focuses on the use of stative verbs in the peak of narrative discourses in Agusan Manobo. Here Schumacher suggests an emotive system conveyed by statives that enhances great moments of stories in that language.

The paper of Behrens and Hale has to do with the role of demonstratives (deictics) in Yakan narrative. Initial hypotheses that try to explain deictics simply in terms of emphasis (prominence) or relative location are found to give only partial truths at best. A more satisfactory explanation lies in relating the use of the various deictics to the progress of the plot. Gault's paper (Sama Bangingi), broadly similar in that it is also based on Hale's framework, considers the crucial role of demonstrative and some similar elements in marking the focal content of a story (as distinct from its backbone/eventline).

Robert E. Longacre
Dallas, June 1983

THE USE OF REPORTED SPEECH
AND QUOTE FORMULA SELECTION IN KAGAN KALAGAN

Dag Wendel
Summer Institute of Linguistics

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1.0 Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to examine the basic patterns and functions of reported speech in Kagan Kalagan[1] folk narrative, with special reference to the use of the different quote formulas[2] which occur in this language. We will look both at the function of reported speech in general within the context of a whole discourse, and at the specific ways in which the various different forms of the quote formula function within a dialogue.

Within a discourse, a main function of reported speech is to add vividness to the story. This accounts for the extensive use of reported speech in folktales, where the intention of the narrator is to entertain. This function becomes especially clear in the case of rhetorical quote, where reported speech is used rhetorically to inform the audience of decisions, plans, etc., while at the same time the decision or plan is highlighted as having special significance by the fact that it is encoded in the form of quotation rather than simply as narrative. There are also some cases where repartee may be encoded as a narrative sentence. This skewing of the surface structure is used to mark an utterance of special significance. Normally reported speech is a more highly foregrounded form than narrative, and rhetorical quote is even more highly foregrounded than reported speech, since it occurs less frequently and only at peak. We have noticed, however, that after a pattern of reported speech has been established in a story, narrative is often used at the peak to break the pattern and thereby highlight the peak. In general, departure from the established norm, even if the norm is itself a highlighting device (such as reported speech), increases the level of vividness.

Kagan Kalagan has two main types of quote formula, each of which has several variants. The most common type, QF-1, uses the unaffixed form of the speech verb lawung 'to say' and puts the quote in focus[3]; the other, QF-2, uses a speech verb with actor focus affixation, thus giving more prominence to the speaker. These two types, along with their several variants, function in dialogue to provide cohesion, highlighting, and vividness. A narrator usually chooses one type of quote formula to use as the norm for that text; that is, the majority of the utterances in the dialogues are introduced by that quote formula. The other quote formula variants then occur only at certain stages of the dialogue and are used for special purposes such as highlighting. We will look first at each variant and its specific functions, and then examine several folktales to see how the different variants function together in the context of a whole discourse.

1.1 Introduction of quote formula variants

The following are the contextual variants of the quote formulas that occur in Kagan Kalagan:

1) QF-1; with the unaffixed speech verb lawung 'to say'

a) QF-1a (Regular quote focus)

The normal word order is Verb + Speaker + Quote, with an optional addressee occurring after the speaker. This normal form of QF-1 I have called QF-1a (regular quote focus). It may occur with or without the addressee. When the addressee is mentioned in the formula, it indicates initiation or termination of a dialogue paragraph.

QF-1a: + lawung + Speaker ± Addressee + Quote

example (without addressee):

Lawung na busaw, "....."
said the troll (mythical evil creature)

The busaw said, "....."

with addressee:

Lawung ni Tilanduk sa nagan, "....."
said pm Tilanduk to snake

Tilanduk said to the snake, "....."

QF-1a is most commonly used as the quote formula norm for a whole dialogue. In a dialogue where QF-1a is the norm, the other quote formula variants are used only at points of special significance such as peak or paragraph boundaries. Its function is mainly to track participants by the reference to the speaker in the formula, and to highlight the quotes by putting them in focus. In a dialogue where another variant is being used as norm, QF-1a is used to mark significant points in the dialogue.

b) QF-1b (Split quote)

It is also possible to put part of the quoted material before the speech verb. This is referred to as 'split quote' or QF-1b. Normally the part of the quote that precedes the speech verb is a short expression of rejection, agreement or emotion. So far we have not found an instance where the addressee was included in this formula.

QF-1b: + Quote + lawung + Speaker + Quote

example:

"Ee," lawung na busaw, "lagketan aku."
yes said the troll bind me-f

"Yes," the busaw said, "bind me."

The split quote (QF-1b) is often used to add vividness in initiating or resolving utterances. Because the first part is often an expression of emotion, it highlights the emotion and therefore is strongly foregrounded. It can also be used to highlight the acceptance or rejection of crucial proposals because it preposes the expression of acceptance or rejection.

c) QF-1c (Preposed quote)

Another variant of QF-1 puts the whole quote before the speech verb. This is referred to as 'preposed quote' or QF-1c. Again we have not found a case where the addressee appeared in this formula.

QF-1c: + Quote + lawung + Speaker

example:

"Nanga	kaw	migsugaw?"	lawung	ni	Isik
why	you-f	cry	said	pm	Isik

"Why do you cry?" said Isik.

Preposed quote (QF-1c) is used to further highlight the quote by preposing it as well as putting it in focus, and it is a very vivid device. It seems to be used only at crucial stages in the development of the story such as peak.

2) QF-2; with actor focus affixed speech verb

a) QF-2a (Regular speaker focus)

QF-2, which uses affixed speech verbs, also has several variants. The first, QF-2a, has the normal word order, Verb + Speaker + Quote, and can also have an optional addressee occurring after the speaker. As with QF-1a (regular quote focus), inclusion of the addressee in the formula indicates initiation or termination of a dialogue paragraph.

QF-2a: + Verb + Speaker ± Addressee + Quote

example:

Miglawung	ya	datu,	"....."
said	the	datu-f	

Said the datu, "....."

QF-2a is the other quote formula that is commonly used as norm for a whole dialogue. It gives the speaker extra prominence and makes the whole narrative more participant oriented when it is the norm. It does not occur in dialogues where QF-1a is the norm, but it can function as a border device when QF-2b is the norm.

b) QF-2b (Preposed speaker)

The other variant of QF-2, QF-2b, puts the speaker first in the formula. It is referred to as 'preposed speaker'. This can also have an optional addressee.

QF-2b: + Speaker + Verb ± Addressee + Quote

example:

Ya	datu	miglawung,	"....."
the	datu-f	said	

The datu said, "....."

This quote formula further highlights the speaker. It can be used as norm either for a whole story or only for the peak area of a story, although it is not as commonly used for the norm as QF-1a and QF-2a. When it is the norm, it adds tension, a sense of excitement, to the whole story. It can also function in a story that has QF-2a as norm to indicate a critical stage or boundary in the story. When used this way, it is a very dynamic device. It does not occur in dialogues with QF-1a as norm.

3) Double barreled formula

QF-3, the double barreled formula, is really a combination of two quote formulas. The first part of the double barreled formula most often has a speech verb with actor focus affixation, while the second part often uses lawung, and so in most cases it may be said to be a combination of QF-1a and QF-2a. Sometimes, however, the first part contains instead a verb of motion such as 'come' or 'go' or another verb of activity, and is followed by lawung plus a pronoun and the quote. I have treated this as a variant of the double barreled formula. The speaker is normally referred to by a noun phrase in the first part of the formula, and by a pronoun in the last.

QF-3: + Affixed Verb + Speaker + lawung + Speaker ± Addressee + Quote

example:

Timubag	ya datu,	lawung	nan,	"....."
answered	the datu-f	said	he	

The datu answered, he said, "....."

The double barreled formula (QF-3) has several different functions depending on what kind of verb is used in the first part of the formula. If it is a speech verb - especially a specific speech verb such as 'beg' - it can function to intensify a proposal or to highlight an important piece of information. If the first verb is a verb of motion, this formula can function to combine the lead-in and initiating utterance of a dialogue into one sentence. This has the effect of accelerating the pace of the story. QF-3 is generally used at transition points and points of tension and accelerates the pace of the story.

4) Quote formula deletion

There are a few cases where the quote formula is deleted. This is termed 'drama' and occurs only at peak. It serves to heighten the vividness and tension.

Figure 1 shows the quote formula variants classified according to focus and word order.

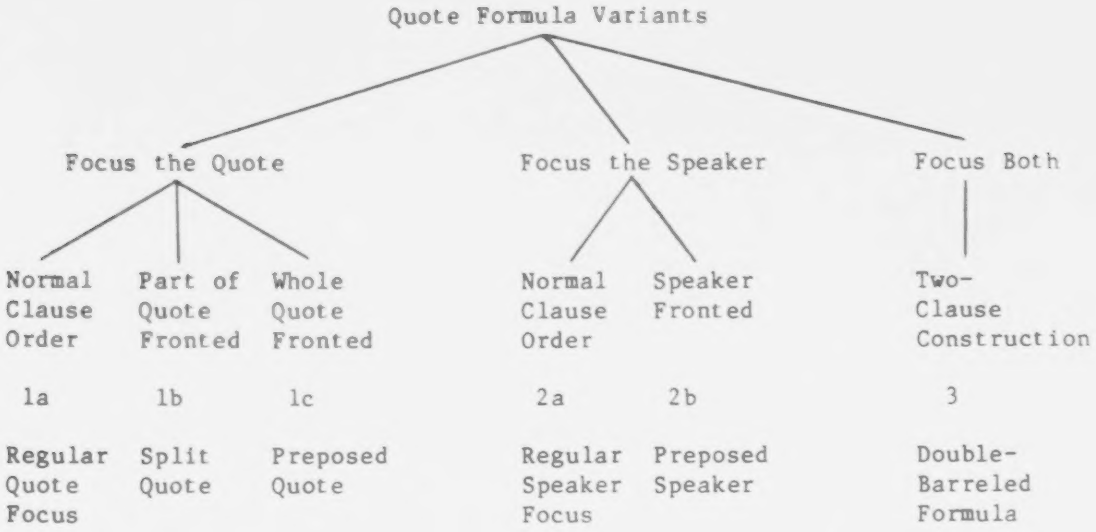

Quote Formula Variants
Focus the Quote
Focus the Speaker
Focus Both
Normal Clause Order
Part of Quote Fronted
Whole Quote Fronted
Normal Clause Order
Speaker Fronted
Two-Clause Construction
1a
1b
1c
2a
2b
3
Regular Quote Focus
Split Quote
Preposed Quote
Regular Speaker Focus
Preposed Speaker
Double-Barreled Formula

Figure 1. Variants of the quote formula in Kagan Kalagan

We shall look first at a text where the narrator has selected the regular quote focus formula (QF-1a) as the norm for cases of reported speech. To start with, I have chosen the folk narrative about Tilanduk because it is typical for the choice of QF-1a as the norm for reported speech, and because of its extensive use of dialogue.

2.0 The Tilanduk story: use of QF-1a as norm

Tilanduk had suffered much because his parents had been killed by a busaw (troll). The story is about how he sets the record straight with the busaw. There are five episodes which describe encounters between Tilanduk and the busaw. Each of these has as its nucleus a dialogue between the two.

At the outset of each dialogue, the busaw is the aggressor, but invariably a role reversal occurs when Tilanduk seizes the initiative and makes a claim that is accepted by the busaw. In each episode this early role reversal foreshadows the final reversal at the peak of the episode. Similarly, the role reversals in prepeak episodes set the pattern for the climactic reversal in Episode 5.

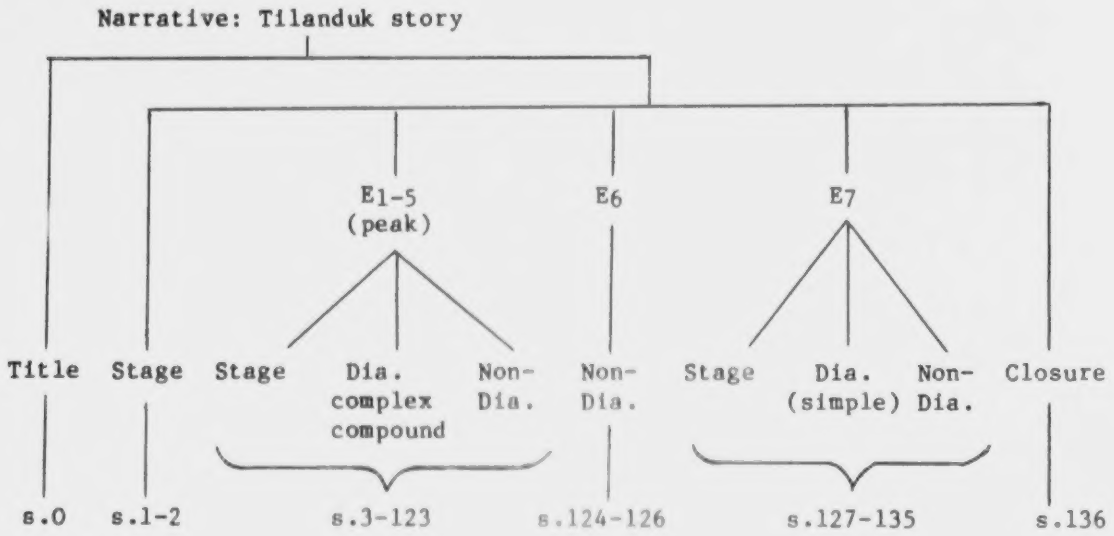
The primary function of QF-1 as norm is to highlight the quotes. The contents of the quotes present the development of the relationship between the two global thematic participants of the story (Tilanduk and the busaw).

QF-1a (regular quote focus), without addressee is the norm for all the dialogues and may occur at any stage, but it is most typically used for continuing utterances. The split quote (QF-1b), is used for vividness in some initiating and resolving utterances, and in the final rhetorical quote of Episode 3. The double barreled formula (QF-3), is used with a verb of motion for dialogue initiation (s.31,32). It is also used with a speech verb to intensify a proposal (s.17).

Two utterances are sometimes collapsed into one sentence by removal of one quote formula and one utterance of more than one sentence is sometimes divided into two by assignment of a separate quote formula to each of the two sentences. This is used as a device for accelerating or slowing down the pace of the story. For example, near the beginning of the story, separate quote formulas are used for an important transition point, between the two embedded episodes in the dialogue of Episode 2 (s.38,39), whereas in Episodes 3 and 4 the transition point utterances are collapsed into one sentence for acceleration (s.63-64, 86-87). Then in the peak episode the pace is slowed down by separate quote formula assignments to the transition sentences 103-104, 108-109. The same mechanism is at work in the initiation of the dialogues in Episodes 2 to 4 where the double barreled formula is used to accelerate the pace by employing what would have been a separate lead-in as the first part of the formula for the initiating utterance. In Episodes 1 and 5 the quote formula norm is used, and the lead-in is a separate sentence, thus slowing down the pace.

Nonverbal rather than verbal agreement to crucial proposals is used in every episode near the peak. This seems to be both a vividness and an acceleration device. The first episode is the only one in which verbal agreement is given to a crucial proposal at peak (s.20).

Figure 2 is a structural preview of the whole story with special reference to the occurrence of dialogue.[4]


Narrative: Tilanduk story
E1-5
(peak)
E6
E7
Title
Stage
Stage
Dia. complex compound
Non-Dia.
Non-Dia.
Stage
Dia. (simple)
Non-Dia.
Closure
s.0
s.1-2
s.3-123
s.124-126
s.127-135
s.136

Abbreviations:

E	episode
Dia.	dialogue
s.	sentence

Figure 2. Structural preview of Tilanduk story with reference to dialogue

2.1 Episode 1

Episode 1 is spanned by a complication-resolution structure represented by the encounter between Tilanduk and the busaw, and Tilanduk being able to outwit the busaw and escape. The events of this episode foreshadow the outcome of the following episodes.

Dialogue is used to build excitement and trigger the non-dialogue peak action which resolves the episode. Dialogue normally outranks narrative on a scale of vividness, but here the contrast at the peak seems to reverse this; at the peak of this episode, after a rather long stretch of dialogue, narrative is used (s.23-25). Nonverbal agreement is indicated by the execution sentence (s.23), where the proposed action, that demands cooperation from both participants, is performed without any explicit agreement. This occurs immediately before the peak sentence to accelerate the movement toward the peak. Nonverbal agreement is an acceleration device.

In the closure of the episode two rhetorical quotes are used. They encode deep structure actions and are used to highlight the actions and add vividness at this point in the story. They are also used to propel the story forward to the next encounter.

The quote formula norm (QF-1a) is used both to initiate and to continue the dialogue, and it is also used for the rhetorical quotes. Only at two crucial stages of the dialogue is another variant chosen: the double barreled formula is used for the busaw's climactic proposal in sentence 17, and the split quote is used in the resolving utterance (s.20), where the busaw agrees to be bound.

The two global thematic participants are introduced in two different ways. Tilanduk is the first to be introduced since he is the most prominent of the two. He is referred to first in the title in unfocused form, and then twice in the stage, both times as a preposed focused item. The second global thematic participant, the busaw, is introduced only in sentence 1 in unfocused form as the reason for Tilanduk's sufferings. Tilanduk's having suffered an injustice that demands retribution is the main background theme in the plot structure.

The stage of the episode prepares for the first encounter with the busaw. Tilanduk and the resolution prop[5] (the 'light-tree') are placed on stage in Description 1 (s.3). The prop gives us a clue as to the resolution: the sap of the light-tree is inflammable. Then in the lead-in the busaw comes on stage for the encounter. The lead-in functions as a dialogue introducer in the same way that quote formulas function as quote introducers.

The following is a display of the first part of the text. (See the Appendix for the complete vernacular text with interlinear gloss and free translation.)

Title: A story by an ancestor about Tilanduk

Stage: Description paragraph

s.1 Tilanduk was an orphan because his mother and father had been killed by a busaw (troll).
s.2 That is why Tilanduk just roamed around in the forest.

Episode 1: Narrative discourse (the 'light-tree')

Stage: Description paragraph

Description 1

s.3 One day Tilanduk saw a big tree called 'light'.
s.4 The trickle of sap from the 'light-tree' came from the top and arrived at the root.
s.5 As for the trickle of sap from the 'light-tree', that is where Tilanduk was, under the tree.

Description 2

s.6 He was cleaning rattan.

Episode: Compound dialogue paragraph

Lead-in

s.7 Not long after, the busaw arrived.

The compound dialogue that follows this represents an embedded episode. QF-1a (regular quote focus) is used for the initiating utterance of the dialogue (s.8), and no other variant is chosen before the continuing utterance. This means that QF-1a is now established as the norm for reported speech for the rest of the story.

The busaw establishes himself as the aggressor here by ignoring all norms for greetings and posing a very provocative question. Tilanduk's answer in CU_1 (s.9,10), with his claim about the coming wind,[6] implies a strategy for seizing the initiative in the dialogue. His intention is to frighten the busaw and elicit a response which he can use for the further development of his strategy. Tilanduk's answer triggers the desired response, and role reversal occurs. The busaw is no more the aggressor; he believes Tilanduk's claim about the wind, and begs for his life in CU_2 (s.11,12). He pleads with Tilanduk to give him the tree. Tilanduk at first refuses, but in CU_5 (s.17) the busaw makes a final impassioned plea. Here we have reached a point of maximum tension and the double barreled formula (QF-3) is used, here with object focus affixation in the first part of the formula because the object, the tree (the resolution prop) is being highlighted. The first part of the formula specifies the speech act as begging and serves to intensify the plea. The busaw is referred to in this first part with a noun phrase, and therefore in the second part of the formula only a pronoun is used: 'The busaw begged, he said...'.

Exchange 1: Complex dialogue paragraph

IU (question): Norm

s.8 Said the busaw, "What are you doing here?"

CU_1 (answer + remark): Norm

s.9 Said Tilanduk, "I am here at the foot of this tree because a strong wind will come over the earth, and all the trees will be uprooted.
s.10 Only this tree here will be the one that will remain.

CU_2 (proposal + proposal): Norm

s.11 Said the busaw, "Pity me!
s.12 Let me have this tree, because I may die from the wind!"

CU_3 (response + proposal): Norm

s.13 Said Tilanduk, "I will not give you this tree!
s.14 You just look for one for yourself!"

CU4 (response + proposal): Norm

s.15 Said the busaw, "You be the one to look for another.
s.16 Just give me this tree!"

CU5 (proposal): Double barreled

s.17 The busaw just begged for the tree, he said, "Give me this tree!"

Tilanduk's strategy now calls for the next step to be taken. In CU6 (s.18) he agrees to give up his tree, and in a new proposal (s.19), appearing to be helpful, he suggests that he ought to bind the busaw so he will not be blown away by the wind. Again the quote formula norm is used, but in the busaw's response to this (s.20, a resolving utterance which is the busaw's final utterance in this dialogue) the split quote is used to highlight his acceptance of the proposal. Here the busaw agrees to be bound to the tree, and we have reached another crucial stage. Then, in the Correlate (a narrative sentence, s.21), Tilanduk performs the proposed action.

CU6 (response + proposal): Norm

s.18 Said Tilanduk, "Yes, this tree is already yours, because I will look for one for myself.
s.19 Let's just bind you here to this tree, because maybe the wind will come over the earth."

RU (response): Split

s.20 "Yes," said the busaw, "bind me!"

Correlate

s.21 Tilanduk bound the busaw.

The following execution paragraph consists of a plan and an execution. In the plan (s.22) Tilanduk makes the final proposal, to smear the busaw's eyes with 'light-sap'. The quote formula norm (QF-1a) is used for this final quote of the dialogue. The busaw gives no verbal assent this time, but agreement is implicit since Tilanduk is able to perform the proposed act in the execution (s.23), with no protests from the busaw. We are now in the peak area, and, as we shall see confirmed by the following episodes, nonverbal agreement to a proposal is a feature that marks peak area.

Exchange 2: Execution paragraph

Plan: Norm

s.22 Said Tilanduk, "Let's smear your eyes with sap from the 'light-tree' so you will not see what will come over the earth."

Execution

s.23 He smeared the eyes of the busaw until the busaw could not see any more.

Sentence 24 in the following narrative constitutes the peak (BU_n) of the episode. The whole dialogue has built up towards this and triggers the action: Tilanduk sets the busaw on fire and escapes. He has proven that he is smarter than the busaw, and he has started to pay back the busaw for the sufferings he had inflicted on him. His success here foreshadows his success in the following episodes and the final retribution.

In the two build-ups after peak (s.25,26) the narrator describes the busaw's reaction to the outcome of this first encounter with Tilanduk. He is in a rage and in Item 1 of the closure (s.27) states his intention to look for Tilanduk until he finds him, with the intention, of course, of punishing him. A rhetorical quote introduced by the quote formula norm is used to highlight the busaw's resolve to find Tilanduk. The quote is a soliloquy that encodes deep structure narrative. It is also used to propel the story forward to the next episode, and it adds suspense as it foreshadows the next encounter.

Item 2 of the closure (s.28) is another rhetorical quote which is used to inform us about and to highlight Tilanduk's new strategy. The quote is a soliloquy, introduced by the quote formula norm. Tilanduk here states his plan to change his clothes so he will not be recognized by the busaw. This is a very crucial sentence, as the same trick will be employed for the following four episodes. The dress changing is not mentioned directly in these following episodes, but becomes evident in the exchanges between the busaw and Tilanduk. As with the preceding rhetorical quote (s.27), here also the next encounter is foreshadowed and the story is propelled forward.

Peak: Narrative paragraph

BU_n

s.24 Tilanduk took the flint and set the 'light-sap' on fire, and then Tilanduk escaped.

BU_{n+1}

s.25 The busaw just screamed and wailed, and his body was burnt by the fire.

BU_{n+2}

s.26 When the busaw struggled, the rattan that tied him broke.

Closure: Coordinate paragraph

Item 1: Norm

s.27 Said the busaw, "Wherever Tilanduk is, I will search for him (until I find him)."

Item 2: Norm

s.28 Said Tilanduk, "I will change my shirt and pants so I will not be recognized by the busaw."

2.2 Episode 2

The dialogues of the next four episodes, including the peak episode, have a common added feature that marks them as different from the first dialogue. The added feature is an initial dialogue episode in which Tilanduk, by means of his change of clothing, successfully denies his identity. In Episode 2 the interchange which results in the concealment of Tilanduk's identity constitutes a whole compound dialogue paragraph. We shall look at Episode 2 for the structure of this added dialogue episode, and see how it ties in with the following dialogue episode which is almost identical to the dialogue in Episode 1.

Again Tilanduk and the prop are placed on stage for the encounter in a narrative paragraph, and the busaw comes on stage in the lead-in (s.31). In the initiating utterance the busaw again establishes himself as the aggressor, but Tilanduk immediately tries to seize the initiative. His first question in CU_1 is a negative evaluation that amounts to a rejection of the busaw's remark: "Why don't you recognize people?" Tilanduk doesn't give the busaw a chance to object to this, but immediately, in the same utterance, poses the question that draws the busaw's attention to his dress. The busaw admits that Tilanduk's dress had a different colour, and in CU_2, Tilanduk demands to know why the busaw accuses him of being Tilanduk. The busaw excuses himself in a resolving utterance (s.38) by saying that his face is like Tilanduk's. Then, being convinced that the person he is talking to is not Tilanduk, he initiates the second complex part of the dialogue (s.39) in the same way that the dialogue of Episode 1 was initiated - with the question "What are you doing here?"

One important feature of Episode 2 is the acceleration at several points. This is tied in with the employment of the double barreled formula at transition points. As we mentioned in Section 1.1, the double barreled formula (with verb of motion) can be used to combine the lead-in and the initiating utterance into one sentence, in order to accelerate the pace of the story. This happens in Episode 2 (s.31,32), where the busaw is referred to by noun phrase in the lead-in, but by pronoun only in the initiating utterance, in contrast to Episode 1 where a noun phrase was used in both the lead-in and the initiating utterance. The pronoun reference implies a closer connection between the lead-in and the initiating utterance and so this may be looked upon as a variation of the double barreled formula. A similar device is used in the final utterance of the dialogue (s.45-46) - this time with a verb of activity 'bound up' - where Tilanduk is referred to by name in sentence 45 and then by pronoun in sentence 46. And then in the rhetorical quote (s.51-52), the gerund form of the speech verb is used (in another double barreled formula) and this too has an accelerating effect.

These three double barreled formulas are the only places in the episode where a quote formula other than the norm is used, and they all occur at transition points and serve to accelerate the pace. Nonverbal agreement is also used at two points toward the peak (s.45 and s.47) which further accelerates the movement towards peak.

Sentence 46, the last utterance of the dialogue, includes the addressee in the double barreled formula, indicating termination of the dialogue paragraph.

Following is a display of the initial dialogue paragraph with the immediate context:

Episode 2: Narrative discourse

Stage: Narrative paragraph

BU$_1$

s.29 Not long after, Tilanduk found a nest of buligan bees.

BU$_n$

s.30 He closed the hole of the nest and sat down, cleaning rattan.

Episode 1: Compound dialogue paragraph

Lead-in

s.31 Not long after, the busaw came,

Exchange 1: Complex dialogue paragraph

IU (remark): Variation of double barreled (s.31-32)

s.32 said he, "Shucks, so this is where you are!
s.33 You really are Tilanduk!"

CU$_1$ (evaluation + question): Norm

s.34 Said Tilanduk, "Why don't you recognize people any more?
s.35 How were Tilanduk's clothes?"

RU (answer): Norm

s.36 Said the busaw, "They were black."

Exchange 2: Simple dialogue paragraph

IU (question): Norm

s.37 Said Tilanduk, "So why am I the one you are accusing?"

RU (answer): Norm

s.38 Said the busaw, "Your face is like Tilanduk's!"

Episode 2: Complex dialogue paragraph

IU (question): Norm

s.39 Said the busaw, "What are you doing here?"

CU1 (answer + remark): Norm

s.40 Said Tilanduk, "I am watching my grandfather's jar, because that is what he left for my inheritance."

In this next embedded episode (s.39-52), the busaw is again the aggressor, and most of the pattern of the dialogue of Episode 1 is repeated, with a different resolution prop this time, a bees' nest.

When Tilanduk claims that he is watching an expensive jar (s.40), the busaw immediately goes into the trap and starts asking for it. Here in sentence 44 Tilanduk finally agrees to give it up, with the condition that he must leave first. The busaw gives no verbal response, but in the correlate (s.45) Tilanduk prepares to hand over the jar, so the busaw's agreement is implicit. This is a significant difference from Episode 1 where at the climax, the busaw did respond verbally to Tilanduk's climactic proposal. The nonverbal response here helps to speed up the pace of the story. In this correlate (s.45) Tilanduk is referred to by a noun phrase, and in the following plan sentence (s.46), by pronoun. As was the case with the lead-in, this may then be looked upon as a double barreled formula and functions as an acceleration device. This is an especially significant case as we have here the first case of addressee in the quote formula, which indicates termination of a dialogue paragraph: 'Tilanduk bound up the nest, he said to the busaw, ...'. The plan sentence of the execution paragraph (s.46) represents the final utterance of the dialogue and leads to the peak via the execution (s.47). The bees' nest breaks in BU1 (s.48), and in the peak (s.49) the busaw is badly stung by the bees.

The conclusion of the episode encodes a closure that uses a rhetorical quote. The function of the quote is the same here as in the preceding episode - to highlight the busaw's resolve to find Tilanduk, to propel the story forward to the next episode, and to add suspense. But here it is made more intense by the use of the double barreled formula. The first part of it is a speech verb in gerund form. In this case the busaw is referred to only in the second part of the quote formula, and then of course by a noun phrase: '...screaming a lot, the busaw said'.

Below is a display of this part of the text with peak and closure:

CU5 (response + proposal): Norm

s.44 Said Tilanduk, "If you love Grandfather's jar, I will give it to you, only don't transfer it while I am still here, because that will make me unhappy."

Correlate

s.45 Tilanduk bound up the bees' nest (for carrying),

Exchange: Execution paragraph

Plan: Variation of double barreled (s.45-46)

s.46 said he to the busaw, "Friend, when I shout from afar, then you can start to transfer it, because I will become unhappy (if I would still be here)."

Execution

s.47 When Tilanduk shouted from afar, the busaw carried off the bees' nest on his back.

Peak: Narrative paragraph

BU_1

s.48 Not long after, the bees' nest broke.

BU_n

s.49 The busaw was really stung by the bees.

BU_{n+1}

s.50 The big trees, where the busaw jumped, fell.

Closure: Rhetorical quotation sentence: Double barreled

s.51 While screaming a lot, the busaw said, "That person really was Tilanduk!
s.52 Now, even if you will hide in the place of the dead, I will search for you (until I find you)!"

Through Episodes 1 and 2 a pattern has been set that with few deviations will be followed up to the termination of the dialogue in Episode 5, the peak episode. Because of the similarity of Episodes 3-5 to the preceding episodes, they will be commented on only briefly.

2.3 Episode 3

In Episode 3 the busaw is stung by another kind of bee. The double barreled formula that employs the lead-in as the first part is again used as an acceleration device. Another acceleration point is added in sentence 64 which is the initiation of the second episode of the dialogue. Here a single quote formula is assigned to what would have been the resolving utterance of the first part and the initiating utterance of the second. We have defined an utterance as one or more sentences introduced by a quote formula (see discussion of terminology), so the transition from one theme to another must now rather be looked upon as a single continuing utterance encoding both answer and question. (Compare Episode 2, sentences 38 and 39, where two quote formulas were assigned, one for each sentence.) Tilanduk demands an answer as to why he is being accused, and he gets the usual answer:

CU3 (answer + question): Norm

s.63 Said the busaw, "Your face is like Tilanduk's.
s.64 What are you doing here?"

In the closure, rhetorical quote is again used to highlight the busaw's next attempt to find Tilanduk and punish him. This time the split quote formula with an exclamation of disgust is used to introduce the quote and highlight it:

Closure: Rhetorical quote sentence: Split

s.75 "Shucks!" the busaw said, "what happens to me is really bad.
s.76 If I will find Tilanduk, I will grind him into the ground."

2.4 Episode 4

Episode 4 is the last prepeak episode. The stage of this episode is different from the stage of the other episodes because of the prop, a big snake. Tilanduk makes a deal with the snake in a quotation sentence and there is no reply from the snake. Agreement is implicit, however, as seen by the following events.

For the utterance to the snake, the quote formula norm (QF-1a) is used, but with the addressee, who had been introduced in the preceding lead-in. The dialogue with the busaw is initiated with the same exclamation that was used for the rhetorical quote of sentence 75. However, this time, instead of disgust, it expresses gleeful delight at finding Tilanduk.

In the following display, the deal with the snake and the initiation of the dialogue with the busaw are illustrated.

Stage: Narrative paragraph

BU1

s.77 Tilanduk came to a big snake.

BUn (proposal): Norm + addressee

s.78 Said Tilanduk to the snake, "If the busaw will ask for you, I will give you to him, and you just squeeze his body."

Episode: Complex dialogue paragraph

Lead-in

s.79 Not long after, the busaw came,

IU (remark): Split

s.80 "Shucks!" said he, "so this is where you are, Tilanduk!"

After this split quote, the quote formula norm is used throughout the rest of this episode. The transition from the first to the second episode of the dialogue is identical to that in Episode 3; only one quote formula is assigned to introduce both the resolving statement of part one, and the initiating statement of part two (s.86,87).

In the closure of this fourth episode there is a significant departure from the pattern of the three preceding episodes. This time there is no rhetorical quote used to signal the busaw's renewed search for Tilanduk. A plain narrative sentence is used. Again we see that narrative outranks reported speech as a vividness device because the pattern that was set in the previous episodes is broken. The busaw was able to escape the snake and kill it. Then his search for Tilanduk is stated in a narrative sentence in the closure:

Closure

s.98 When the snake was dead, the busaw searched for Tilanduk.

2.5 Episode 5 (Peak)

Each of the four episodes we have looked at so far has represented a partial retribution. None of the episodes stands out as more prominent than another, but the sequence of successful partial retributions has built up an expectation for a final resolution in Tilanduk's favour. The acceleration and vividness devices used in the development of the story towards the peak have contributed to the building of suspense. Episode 5 is the peak of the story; it gives the final retribution and the main resolution of the plot structure.

The narrator is now slowing down the story a bit as we are coming closer to the peak and the 'slower' patterns of Episodes 1 and 2 are reverted to with regard to introduction and quote formula assignment after the first dialogue exchange. The busaw is referred to with a noun phrase both in the lead-in and in the quote formula of the dialogue initial utterance. Another case of slow-down occurs in sentences 103 and 104: Tilanduk's response and question to the busaw's claim in the preceding episodes were encoded as only one utterance. Here the response and question are each assigned a separate quote formula. Below is a display of the first part of the dialogue:

Episode 1: Compound dialogue paragraph

Lead-in

s.101 Not long after, the busaw came.

Exchange 1: Simple dialogue paragraph

IU (remark): Norm

s.102 Said the busaw, "You really are Tilanduk!"

RU (evaluation): Norm

s.103 Said Tilanduk, "That is what can destroy you, because you don't recognize people."

Exchange 2: Simple dialogue paragraph

IU (question): Norm

s.104 Said Tilanduk, "How were Tilanduk's clothes?"

RU (answer): Norm

s.105 Said the busaw, "Red."

Exchange 3: Simple dialogue paragraph

IU (question): Norm

s.106 Said Tilanduk, "Why do you accuse me?"

RU (answer): Norm

s.107 Said the busaw, "Your face is like Tilanduk's"

Episode 2: Complex dialogue paragraph

Exchange 1

IU (question): Norm

s.108 Said the busaw, "What are you doing here?"

Because of the extra quote formula assignment in sentences 104 and 108 this sequence of identity denial may be regarded as three exchanges. The next sequence, where the busaw is outwitted again, starts with sentence 108.

The prop of this episode is a big stone that Tilanduk claims is a food storage house. He is watching it, he says, because there will be a great famine. Following this claim, there is a bargaining sequence where the busaw offers Tilanduk many treasures in exchange for the storehouse.

Tilanduk agrees to the deal in the final statement of the dialogue, a continuing utterance that encodes agreement plus proposal. This is the only place in the dialogue where a variant other than the quote formula norm is chosen; the split quote is used here to highlight Tilanduk's agreement to the busaw's proposal.

CU (agreement + proposal + proposal): Split

s.115 "Yes," said Tilanduk, "This storehouse is already yours.
s.116 Bring it to the place where you live.
s.117 I will just follow.
s.118 But, friend, when you transfer this storehouse, don't let me see it, because then I would become unhappy."

This is the very last statement that Tilanduk utters to the busaw. It has more sentences than any other utterance in the whole story, which also has the effect of slowing down the pace before the peak.

In sentence 119, Tilanduk makes plain his covert strategy in a rhetorical quote that highlights the following event. The quote is introduced by a double barreled formula and may be looked upon as a transition from the dialogue to the non-dialogue narrative which follows.

Step-down (transition): Plan: Double barreled

s.119 Tilanduk went, he said, "If the busaw will just lose his balance there, that will be the end of his life."

Then the peak occurs. Four action verbs are used to describe what the busaw did, whereas in the other episodes only one action verb was used for the carrying out of Tilanduk's instructions. This is rhetorical underlining at peak to slow down the pace and build suspense. Then four stative verbs are used to describe what happened to the busaw, whereas in the preceding episodes only one stative was used (except for Episode 4 where two were used). This also is rhetorical underlining to highlight the peak event.

Peak: Narrative paragraph

BU_1

s.120 The busaw tied the storehouse (for carrying), then put it on his shoulders and used a head strap (for support).

BU_2

s.121 When he stood up, the stone got out of balance.

BU_3

s.122 The stone rolled off the edge of the cliff.

BU$_n$

s.123 The bones of the busaw were crushed, and he died.

There is no closure to the episode, nothing to propel it forward to the next episode. The main resolution of the story has been given; the ultimate role reversal has occurred and the busaw has been paid back for killing Tilanduk's parents.

In summary we can say that the main feature of the peak was a slowing down of the pace by means of rhetorical underlining and extra quote assignment.

2.6 Episode 6

The first postpeak episode is a very short sequence with no dialogue. Here Tilanduk goes to the busaw's place, meets the spouse of the busaw and kills her. The killing is described in a single narrative sentence, in contrast to the peak episode where four narrative sentences were used to describe the busaw's death following a whole dialogue paragraph which led up to it. Again there is no closure to the episode other than the peak sentence. This episode further completes the retribution. Both of Tilanduk's parents were killed by the busaw; now he has been able to kill both the busaw and his wife.

Episode 6: Narrative paragraph

BU$_1$

s.124 Tilanduk walked until he arrived at the place where the busaw lived.

BU$_2$

s.125 He saw the wife of the busaw.

BU$_n$

s.126 He beat the wife until she died.

2.7 Episode 7

In this last episode of the story Tilanduk meets some people who have been the busaw's prisoners. He frees them, marries the women and becomes rich. So with this episode the lack described in the first episode is filled, the restitution is complete. The episode has a simple dialogue paragraph which clarifies who the people are. The quote formula norm is used for the utterances.

Episode 7: Narrative discourse

Stage: Narrative paragraph

BU$_1$

s.127 Not long after, Tilanduk heard some noise from people ahead of him.

BU$_n$

s.128 He went (there).

Episode: Simple dialogue paragraph

Lead-in

s.129 That is what he saw, the people who were tied up.

IU (question): Norm

s.130 Said Tilanduk, "What are you doing here?"

RU (answer): Norm

s.131 Said the people, "We were imprisoned here by the busaw, and they have already eaten our companions."

Correlate

s.132 Tilanduk freed them, women and men.

Peak: Narrative paragraph

BU$_1$

s.133 They carried away all the treasures of the busaw (until nothing was left).

BU$_2$

s.134 And Tilanduk married the women that he had freed.

BU$_n$

s.135 He was made a great datu.

Discourse closure:

s.136 Here ends the story about Tilanduk.

Again the dialogue led up to the peak and triggered the peak event which represents the final completion of the plot structure.

3.0 The Isik Story: use of QF-1c (preposed quote)

We said at the beginning of this paper that QF-1 is a quote highlighting device. With the preposed quote (QF-1c) further highlighting is indicated since preposing in general is a highlighting device. No case of preposed quote was found in the Tilanduk text, but it is found in other texts. The folktale about Isik and the bird-women will be used for some brief comments on the use of this quote formula. Since we will not analyze the whole of this story with regard to the use of quote formulas, only the sections which contain the preposed quote will be included here and in the Appendix. Further study is necessary, but we can draw some tentative conclusions.

Preposed quote occurs at three critical stages of the story. In the first episode Isik is out hunting. He has hidden at a strategic place by a lake to be able to shoot whatever game might pass by on its way down to the water. When seven big birds arrive he is surprised and decides not to shoot. This decision has crucial implications for the rest of the story. The preposed quote formula is used here for a rhetorical quote to highlight this pivotal decision (s.15,16). Preposed quote is used again in the rhetorical quote of sentence 21 to highlight the peak event of this episode, the discovery that the 'birds' were women.

Peak: Narrative paragraph

BU1

s.12 He waited until he heard the sound of wings.

BU2

s.13 When he looked up, he saw some big birds sitting on the branch of a big tree.

BU3

s.14 They were seven.

BU4: Rhetorical quote: Preposed quote

s.15 "I will not shoot.
s.16 I will see what they will do," said Isik.

BU5

s.17 Not long after, the birds flew down to the ground.

BU6

s.18 Isik looked to see what they would do.

BUn: Comment paragraph

Text

s.19 Not long after, they took off their clothes and placed them on the ground.

Comment

s.20 The feathers were clothes.

Closure: Comment Paragraph

Text: Rhetorical quote: Preposed quote

s.21 "The birds are really people, they were only wearing bird feathers," said Isik.

Comment

s.22 As for those women, there was no one who could compare with them on the surface of the earth.

The third case of preposed quote is in sentence 37, at the peak of the following episode. This probably also represents the peak of the whole story, since the sentence which follows it (s.38) has the quote formula deleted. This is termed 'drama' and invariably marks peak.

Isik has stolen the feathers of one of the women as they were swimming. Then, when they leave again, one of the women is left behind. Isik approaches the woman, and the dialogue which triggers the peak action is initiated with a preposed quote (s.37) and continued with a split quote (s.39). The last statement of the dialogue (s.40) uses the preposed quote. The correlate (a narrative sentence, s.41) encodes a response to this last statement. This is closely related to nonverbal agreement which was described in the Tilanduk story as a typical feature of peak. The use of preposed quote in this dialogue which immediately precedes peak, as well as the use of split quote, quote formula deletion, and response encoded as narrative, all indicate that this is a crucial stage in the story. This supports our hypothesis that preposed quote occurs only at crucial stages in the development of the plot.

Episode: Narrative discourse

Stage: Narrative sentence

s.35 Not long after, Isik approached her.

Episode: Complex dialogue paragraph

Lead-in

s.36 The woman tried to hide when she saw Isik.

IU (question): Preposed quote

s.37 "Why do you cry," said Isik.

RU (answer): Quote formula deletion

s.38 "I was left behind by my siblings, and they took my clothes."

IU (proposal): Split

s.39 "Don't be sad," said Isik, "Come with me, and I will give you my mother's skirt."

CU (remark): Preposed quote

s.40 "I cannot stand up, because I have no covering for my body," said the woman.

Correlate (response)

s.41 Isik gave his turban to cover the woman's body with and carried her home.

Another very vivid episode occurs at the end of the story where the woman discovers that Isik was the one who stole her clothes. But there are no more occurrences of preposed quote. With this, then, we can conclude that preposed quote occurs only at crucial stages in the development of a story. Tentatively we can say that it is a feature of peak, and its use seems parallel to the use of preposed speaker (QF-2b).

4.0 The Mag-agong Story: use of QF-2a (regular speaker focus) as norm

We have said that the main function of QF-1 (quote focus) was to serve as a participant tracking and quote highlighting device. Where QF-2 (speaker focus) is chosen as the norm for the text, the quote formula still has a participant tracking function, but in addition, the speakers are given prominence as they are focused by the speech verb. The whole narrative is more participant oriented.

As we did with QF-1, we shall now consider the structure and context of reported speech in a text where the speaker focus formula (QF-2) is chosen as norm, and we shall look for the constraints that operate upon the quote formula variants.

For this purpose I have chosen a folk narrative about a datu who set out to win a princess he had heard about who lived in a place called 'Mag-agong', the place of 'Gong-beating'. The story is a participant oriented travel narrative. The global thematic participant is the datu who has heard about the princess in Mag-agong. The story has a complication-resolution structure represented by the datu's decision to go to Mag-agong, and his finally successful quest.

The story develops through four episodes (one of which contains three embedded episodes) where the datu interacts with opponents and helpers before he succeeds in winning the princess. The nucleus of each episode is a dialogue, except for Episode 3c which is the peak of the story and has instead a narrative description of the datu's encounter with the snake.

The complication of the story will be resolved in Episode 3c where the datu kills the snake and gets the princess. This success is foreshadowed in the encounter with the crocodile where the effectiveness of the oil is proven, and in the encounter with the old man and the princess where the datu proves himself to be determined and courageous.

Each episode has its own complication-resolution structure. In Episode 2 this is represented by the encounter with the only real opponent before the peak, the crocodile. In the first two embedded episodes in Episode 3 (Episodes 3a and 3b) the complication is represented by the fear of the unknown, and the resolution is represented by the datu's decision to face the challenge anyway. Each episode, except the peak (Episode 3c), has a dialogue nucleus which triggers action. The peak has a non-dialogue nucleus represented by the encounter with the snake.

The dialogues of this story have quite diverse structures. The longest is the first dialogue (Episode 1) which consists of two complex and two simple dialogue paragraphs. The simplest is the third dialogue between the datu and the old man (Dialogue 3 of Episode 3a, s.52-54), which consists of only a single initiating utterance, with nonverbal agreement implicit, as indicated by the datu's following action.

Figure 3 is a structural preview of the whole text. The episodes are referred to by the local thematic participants.

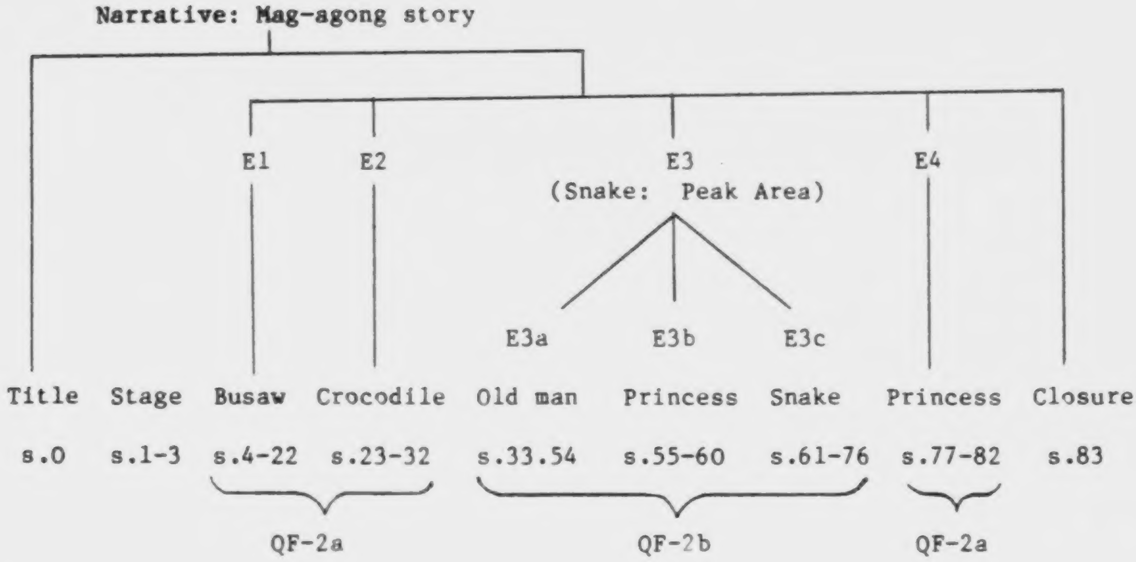

Narrative: Mag-agong story
E1
E2
E3
(Snake: Peak Area)
E4
E3a
E3b
E3c
Title
Stage
Busaw
Crocodile
Old man
Princess
Snake
Princess
Closure
s.0
s.1-3
s.4-22
s.23-32
s.33.54
s.55-60
s.61-76
s.77-82
s.83
QF-2a
QF-2b
QF-2a

Figure 3. Structural preview of the Mag-agong story with reference to the quote formula norms in the dialogues

4.1 Episode 1

In the first dialogue of the story the datu talks with a busaw who is in a difficult predicament and therefore turns out to be a helper. A crucial resolution prop (the oil) is introduced in this dialogue.

The stage and lead-in set the datu and the busaw on stage in time and place for the encounter. The two lead-in sentences (s.6-7) introduce the busaw indirectly, as the datu hears a voice. The compound dialogue which follows is introduced by the datu, but his initiating utterance is triggered by the narrative sentence of the lead-in which reports a request for help (from the busaw).

The preposed speaker formula (QF-2a) is established as norm in sentence 8, the first case in the story of direct reported speech. This quote formula is assigned to all subsequent utterances in this dialogue, except for sentence 16 which seems to be of special significance and where QF-1a (regular quote focus) is used instead.

Below is a display of the first part of the text.

Episode 1: Narrative discourse

Stage: Narrative paragraph

BU1

s.4 The datu went until he arrived at the foot of a big tree.

BU$_n$

s.5 The datu was tired and rested and slept at the foot of the tree.

Episode: Compound dialogue paragraph

Lead-in

s.6 When he woke up he heard a voice.
s.7 The voice he heard was begging for help.

Exchange 1: Simple dialogue paragraph

IU (question): Norm (QF-2a)

s.8 Asked the datu, "Where are you?"

RU (answer): Norm

s.9 Said the voice, "I am here, at the top of the hill."

Correlate:

s.10 The datu went up and saw the busaw who was bound by a chain.

Then the datu initiates the second exchange by asking why the busaw is bound (s.11-12). The quote formula norm (regular speaker focus) is used for both his question and the busaw's answer.[7]

The datu initiates the third exchange by asking what he can do for the busaw (s.14). The busaw asks the datu to cut the chain she is bound with, but in the resolving utterance (s.16), he refuses. For this refusal, QF-1a (quote focus) is used. This is an important stage in the dialogue, since the refusal triggers the busaw's proposal to give him the magic oil in return (s.17), and the oil is a very crucial resolution prop: the busaw claims that by means of it the datu will be able to cut through anything with his sword. So this departure from the quote formula norm seems to be an important signal here.

Exchange 2: Simple dialogue paragraph

IU (question): Norm

s.11 Asked the datu, "Why are you bound here?
s.12 What is your sin?"

RU (answer): Norm

s.13 Answered the busaw, "I have sinned against our companion, that is why I am bound here."

Exchange 3: Complex dialogue paragraph

IU (question): Norm

s.14 Said the datu, "What can I do for you?"

CU (proposal): Norm

s.15 Said the busaw, "If you will pity me, then cut the chain with your sword so I will be able to escape from here."

RU (response): Regular quote focus (QF-1a)

s.16 Said the datu, "I will not, because maybe my sword will be blunted."

Exchange 4: Simple dialogue paragraph

IU (proposal): Norm

s.17 Said the busaw, "If you will bathe your sword with my oil, it will not be blunted, whatever you will cut here on earth.
s.18 If you will help me I will give you this oil."

In the correlate (s.19) the datu agrees to the busaw's final proposal. In the discussion of the Tilanduk text we found that nonverbal agreement was a feature of peak. Here the agreement is explicit, but it is not given in reported speech. When deep structure repartee is encoded as narrative, especially after a long span of reported speech, this is probably significant. This feature then probably has a place on the acceleration/vividness scale which is lower than nonverbal agreement, but higher than agreement given via reported speech.

The correlate leads directly to the peak where dialogue gives way completely to non-dialogue. Here we have a narrative paragraph which tells us that the datu actually carried out what he had agreed to do (s.20). The episode ends with a result sentence that underlines the effectiveness of the magic oil; he really was able to cut the chain. The datu's prospects for the successful outcome of his quest have increased considerably.

Correlate

s.19 The datu agreed.

Peak: Narrative paragraph

Text:

s.20 He took the oil and bathed his sword, and then he cut the chain which bound the busaw.

Result:

s.21 The chain was cut and the busaw was happy because she had been able to escape from her bond.

Closure: Narrative sentence

s.22 The datu and the busaw parted company.

4.2 Episode 2

In the second episode the datu meets a crocodile who tries to hinder his passage over a river. The purpose of the encounter is to test the oil (the resolution prop) before the peak encounter. The success of this encounter foreshadows the final success. The complex dialogue is initiated by the crocodile after the lead-in. The quote formula norm (regular speaker focus, QF-2a) is used throughout, except for the last resolving utterance (s.29) where a split quote (QF-1b) is used. The first part of this split quote encodes mock surprise. It immediately precedes peak and triggers the peak action.

Below is a display of Episode 2, the encounter with the crocodile:

Episode 2: Narrative discourse

Stage: Narrative paragraph

s.23 The datu walked and walked until he arrived at a big river.

Episode: Complex dialogue paragraph

Lead-in:

s.24 The datu (wanted to) cross, but when he came to the middle of the river, a big crocodile came up.

IU (remark): Norm

s.25 Said the crocodile, "Don't cross here; if you force your way I will kill you!"

IU (remark): Norm

s.26 Answered the datu, "Don't hinder me, because I still have a long journey ahead.
s.27 If you will hinder me, I will be the one to kill you!"

CU (remark): Norm

s.28 Answered the crocodile, "As for the ones I have killed who (tried to) cross here, there was no sword (they had) that could cut my body."

RU (evaluation): Split

s.29 "Really!" answered the datu, "Now you just wait!"

Peak: Narrative paragraph

BU_1

s.30 The datu bathed his sword with oil, and when the crocodile approached him, he struck it.

BU_n

s.31 The crocodile was killed.

Closure: Narrative sentence

s.32 The datu crossed and arrived at the other side of the river.

In the narrative peak paragraph, the datu is able to kill the crocodile. The oil has again turned out to be quite effective, and the datu can face the greatest challenge of the story with some confidence.

4.3 Episode 3 (Peak area)

'Peak area' is here used to include Episode 3a, the encounter with the old man in Mag-agong, Episode 3b which terminates with the dialogue with the princess, and Episode 3c which relates the encounter with the snake. This then is quite a lengthy passage, but it is all limited to one location - Mag-agong - which was the goal towards which the datu set out at the beginning of the story.

The first dialogue with the old man seems to have the effect of slowing down the presentation. It is quite long, involving five utterances, and they only encode 'greeting'. This slowing down signals that an important stage of the story has been reached. Also preposed speaker (QF-2b) is used here for the first time (s.41) and that too probably signifies a critical stage. In fact, from this first dialogue with the old man, preposed speaker seems to have become the norm. It is used seven times, whereas regular speaker focus (QF-2a) is used only three times (s.38,40,57) and then only at the beginning of dialogues.

Quote formula deletion also occurs twice, and this is another sign of peak area. It was used for the initial greeting to the old man (s.37), and for the very important question the datu asked about why all those datus were killed (s.47). Quote formula deletion seems to have a vividness and accelerating function.

The final dialogue before the peak, where the datu talks with the princess, encodes the initiating utterance (s.56) and the resolving utterance (s.60) as narrative. This also is probably significant as a break from the dialogue norm. Maybe it could be termed 'dialogue reported as events'.

4.3.1 Episode 3a

In Episode 3a, which is prepeak, the datu meets an old man who prepares him for the challenge ahead. The datu is warned by him about the dangers facing him, but finally decides to go ahead anyway.

The first three utterances of the dialogue represent a greeting sequence. Some norms are broken here. The first greeting (s.37), initiated by the datu, has the quote formula deleted with a time margin functioning as introduction:

Episode 3a: Complex dialogue paragraph

IU (remark) greeting: Quote formula deletion

s.37 When he saw the old man, "Good night, Uncle!"

In the response to the greeting the speaker focus norm (QF-2a) is used, but the first part of the quote is deleted, presumably because it is predictably 'Good night, young man!'. The second part of the response is reported in a narrative sentence:

CU_1 (remark): Norm

s.38 Answered the old man,
s.39 he invited the datu to come up.

Then, in the third part of the response to the greeting, the speaker focus norm is used again, but this time to introduce indirect speech:

CU_2 (question): Norm

s.40 Asked the old man where (he) came from.

Then, for the two final utterances of the greeting sequence, we have direct reported speech; here we encounter the first case of preposed speaker (QF-2b).

RU (answer): Preposed speaker

s.41 The datu answered, "I come from the east."

IU (proposal): Preposed speaker

s.42 The old man answered, "Young man, you sleep here, because you have come a long way."

There is no verbal response to this, and this is in accordance with what we found in the Tilanduk text; nonverbal agreement seems to be a feature of peak area.

Then the second dialogue of this episode takes place. Here the datu is clued in as to what the challenge is that faces him. The dialogue is initiated with indirect speech, using preposed speaker which we may tentatively say occurs only in peak area or at critical stages.

Episode: Compound dialogue paragraph

Exchange 1: Simple dialogue paragraph

IU (question): Preposed speaker

s.43 Before they went to sleep, the datu asked what was the name of the place where he was living.

The answer gives the datu the important information that he has arrived at Mag-agong, the place of the princess. Geographically he has reached his goal. The double barreled formula is used for this crucial information, and again direct reported speech is used:

RU (answer): Double barreled

s.44 The old man answered, said he, "Young man, this place is called Mag-agong.
s.45 If you will hear the gong, take notice,
s.46 because then one who wanted to marry the princess has been killed."

The datu now initiates the second simple part of the dialogue. For his initiating question (s.47) the quote formula is deleted (drama), but there is no doubt as to who is speaking since a quote formula is assigned to the answer. Quote formula deletion here signifies a crucial stage of the dialogue, and of the whole story. For the following answer (s.48-49), split quote (QF-1b) is used. Here the preposed part of the quote encodes lack of knowledge.

Exchange 2: Simple dialogue paragraph

IU (question): Quote formula deletion

s.47 "Why is it that those who (wanted to) marry the princess will die?"

RU (answer): Split

s.48 "I don't know", said the old man, "I don't know why that is.
s.49 Already many, young man, are the datus who have died there: The datu from the source of the river, the datu from the middle of the sea, and the datu from the humming mountain."

As a result of this information, the datu cannot sleep. He thinks about what happened to the other datus. But when morning comes he has made up his mind to go to the princess. He tells the old man about his decision and gives him some instructions in case he should die. Preposed speaker (QF-2b) is used again, with addressee. And again we have nonverbal agreement; there is no explicit response from the old man.

IU (remark + proposal): Preposed speaker + addressee

s.52 When morning came the datu said to the old man, "Uncle, I will go to the princess.
s.53 I will leave my turban with you.
s.54 If you will hear the gong, take note of that, because then I am already dead, and (you can) hang my turban at the rafter of your hut."

4.3.2 Episode 3b

In Episode 3b, which involves a minor change of locale, the datu proceeds to the princess. The princess receives him well and feeds him. After this lead-in of two sentences, the princess initiates the dialogue. Her initiating utterance (s.57) is encoded as indirect speech using regular speaker focus (the norm). For the following two utterances preposed speaker (QF-2b) is used. The correlate of the dialogue (s.60) is a resolving utterance that triggers the peak action.

Episode 3b: Complex dialogue paragraph

IU (question): Norm (indirect quote)

s.57 After the datu had eaten, asked the princess what his purpose was.

CU (answer + remark): Preposed speaker

s.58 The datu told that, "As for me, I have come from a far country, I have come here because I love you very much."

CU_2 (proposal)

s.59 The princess answered, "If you really love me, (then you must) sleep in that room; if you (can survive) until the morning comes, then you can have me."

Correlate (response)

s.60 The datu agreed.

4.3.3 Episode 3c (Peak)

The peak is a rather long sequence with no dialogue, except for the initial flashback which can be looked upon as inner speech as the datu responds to the flashback. Also the final quote by the princess is looked upon as part of an exchange with the datu.

Normally dialogue is higher up on the vividness scale than plain narrative, but here narrative is a contrastive device. The dialogue pattern of the previous episodes is broken, and the listener is alerted.

When the datu enters the room, he remembers the advice of his father, and this, it turns out, saves his life. The father's advice is encoded as a flashback, and the words 'the advice of his father' function as a quote formula or introduction to the quote:

The flashback serves as a kind of initiating utterance in the datu's thought process and he responds to the remembrance of his father's advice in an execution paragraph by deciding that he will not sleep. QF-1a (regular quote focus) is used here for the datu's rhetorical quote.

Episode 3c

Flashback: Covert exhortation

IU (proposal)

s.61 When he went into the small room the datu remembered the advice of his father:
s.62 "Young man, the person who is sleepy will soon die!"

Soliloquy: Execution paragraph

Plan

s.63 Said the datu, "Now I will not sleep.
s.64 I will watch (to see) what will kill people here."

Execution:

s.65 The datu did not sleep.

This soliloquy also seems to have a rhetorical function. It highlights the datu's decision as crucial. The execution sentence serves as rhetorical underlining of what was stated in the quote.

Then a fairly long non-dialogue sequence occurs (12 sentences), marking the peak of the story (s.66-77). Here the datu uses his skill, his sword and his magic oil and is able to kill the big snake that had killed all those who had previously tried to survive a night in the room. In the morning he shows the princess the dead snake.

4.4 Episode 4 (Postpeak)

The last sentence of reported speech is uttered by the princess in sentence 79. The affixed speech verb is used in the quote formula, but what is extraordinary is that the speaker is deleted. There is certainly no doubt about who is speaking, but this is the only case of speaker deletion that we have encountered so far. The utterance is a response to an initiating gesture by the datu which is encoded as a narrative sentence (s.78).

Simple dialogue paragraph

IU (remark)

s.78 When the princess opened (the door to) the room, the datu met her, and he pointed (to the snake), that he had killed the snake.

RU (response): Affixed verb, deleted speaker

s.79 Shed tears and said, "Now I will go with you wherever you will bring me."

Then, in three narrative postpeak sentences the two travel home to the east. The closure, which refers back to the title, ends the story.

Closure

s.83 Here ends the story about the datu and the princess.

4.5 Summary of the use of quote formula variants in the Mag-agong story

We have seen that QF-2 (speaker focus) was chosen as norm in the initiating utterance of the first dialogue (s.9). Then coming to the peak area (s.41-60), preposed speaker (QF-2b) became the norm. This then seems to be a dramatic device that is used for a critical stage of the story.

Preposed speaker plus addressee was used for the (unresolved) initating utterance (s.52-54) where the datu tells the old man about his decision to go ahead. The mention of the addressee seems to lend conclusiveness to the statement.

QF-1a (regular quote focus) was used only for the resolving utterance to the flash-back (s.63-64). Possibly this utterance could also be looked upon as rhetorical use of quote to highlight the datu's action.

The double barreled formula (QF-3), was used for the old man's answer to the datu, that the name of the place was Mag-agong (s.44). So this quote formula variant is used here for a very crucial piece of information - the fact that the datu has now reached his destination.

The split quote (QF-1b) was used only for resolving utterances. In one case (s.29) mock surprise was encoded, and in the other (s.48), lack of knowledge.

5.0 Comparison of the two texts (Tilanduk and Mag-agong)

The structures of the two stories are quite different. One significant difference is that the Tilanduk dialogues, after the first and second, are repetitive and predictable. The Mag-agong dialogues on the other hand seem to receive little or no structural influence from the context of adjacent dialogues.

However, the dialogues function to build up to and trigger action in both texts. They are also used to accelerate and slow down the development of the story in both texts. By means of the selection of quote formula variants or deletion of the quote formula, they can ascend or descend on the vividness scale. The split quote especially has a vividness function as it normally involves emotion. Presumably at the top of the vividness scale is quote formula deletion, which so far has been found only for single utterances within a dialogue paragraph.

The split quote (QF-1b) and the double barreled formula (QF-3) mark boundaries or stages in both Tilanduk and Mag-agong, that is, they function in the same way in texts with two different norms. Preposed speaker (QF-2b), however, occurs only in texts which have QF-2 (speaker focus) as norm, and preposed quote (QF-1c) occurs only in texts which have QF-1 (quote focus) as norm.

6.0 The monkey and butterfly story: QF-2b (preposed speaker) as norm

We have seen in the Mag-agong story that preposed speaker was used as norm for the peak area only of that text. In another story, the folktale about the monkey and the butterfly, preposed speaker is chosen as the norm for the major part of the story while regular quote focus (QF-1a) is the norm for the postpeak dialogue. This is the only text we have where this norm is used for the major part of the story, but it seems to be one of the most effective tales we have come across in terms of listener/reader response.

In the following we shall give a brief outline of the use of preposed speaker in this text. The quote formula variants used for stages or borders of dialogue are the same as when regular speaker focus (QF-2a) is the norm, except that the relationship between QF-2a and QF-2b (preposed speaker), is of course changed: regular speaker focus functions only at borders when preposed speaker is the norm.

The story has two global thematic participants, the butterfly and the monkey, with the monkey's companions as props. The whole story is confrontational and highly vivid in style, and the use of preposed speaker effectively contributes to express this.

The story consists of four episodes, two prepeak and one postpeak episode with dialogues as nucleus, and a peak episode with non-dialogue. Preposed speaker is used as norm in the two prepeak dialogues, and regular quote focus is the norm for the last dialogue, which employs preposed speaker at two critical points.

Figure 4 gives a preview of the whole story with special reference to the use of dialogue and quote formula norms.

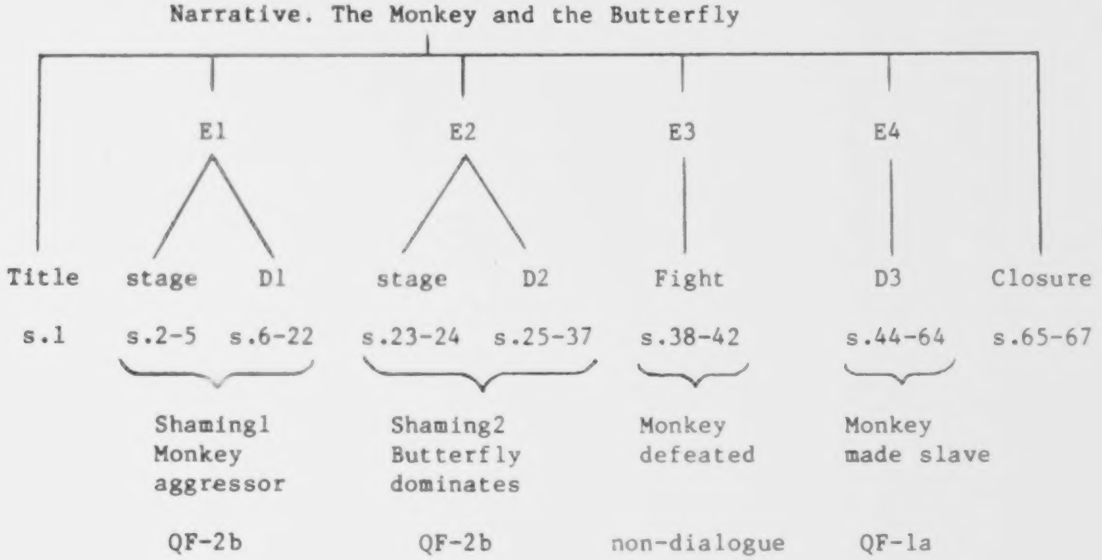

Narrative. The Monkey and the Butterfly
E1
E2
E3
E4
Title
stage
D1
stage
D2
Fight
D3
Closure
s.1
s.2-5
s.6-22
s.23-24
s.25-37
s.38-42
s.44-64
s.65-67
Shaming1 Monkey aggressor
Shaming2 Butterfly dominates
Monkey defeated
Monkey made slave
QF-2b
QF-2b
non-dialogue
QF-1a

Figure 4. Structural preview of the Monkey and Butterfly story with reference to dialogue

6.1 Episode 1

We shall first look at Dialogue 1 which is displayed below with title and stage. The first exchange of this dialogue is a challenging or shaming sequence which at the outset highlights the confrontation between the monkey and the butterfly, and this is the focal content of the whole story.

The the first exchange has three remarks which are extremely negative. The butterfly brushes off the challenging insults twice, but he is shamed beyond limits by the third one when the monkey claims that he is not really a man because of his cowardice. So in the second exchange the butterfly accepts the challenge to fight. This is happily received by the monkey who now leaves the choice of weapons to the butterfly, and this turns out to be to the undoing of the monkey and his friends; the butterfly decides that they should fight with sticks.

The dialogue is terminated with a split quote in which the butterfly reminds the monkey about the time of the fight.

Title

s.1 A story by an ancestor about the monkey and the butterfly

Episode 1: Narrative discourse

Stage: Description paragraph

Description 1

s.2 One day many monkeys were gathering there by the seaside.
s.3 They were really many; they were very noisy.

Description 2

s.4 The butterfly flew until he arrived at the many monkeys.
s.5 There the butterfly sat down, at the top of the talisay tree.

Episode: Compound dialogue paragraph

Lead-in

s.6 When the monkey looked up he saw the butterfly.

Exchange 1: Complex dialogue paragraph

IU (remark): Regular speaker focus

s.7 Said the monkey, "Shucks, friend, how proud you are!"

CU_1 (proposal): Norm (preposed speaker)

s.8 The butterfly answered, "Don't treat me like that, friend, I haven't wronged you!"

CU_2 (remark + remark): Norm

s.9 The monkey said, "You are brave now, friend.
s.10 If you will fight with me, just using my finger, I can kill you."

CU_3 (remark): Norm

s.11 The butterfly answered, "It is not my intention, friend, to fight!"

CU_4 (remark): Norm

s.12 The monkey said, "Shucks, friend, you are a coward, you are not like a man!"

Correlate

s.13 All the monkeys laughed; they really ridiculed the butterfly.

Exchange 2: Simple dialogue paragraph

IU (proposal): Norm

s.14 The butterfly said, "Friend, if you want to fight, you wait until the full moon, because I will fight against you."

RU (evaluation): Norm

s.15 The monkey answered, "That is the man we are looking for who will not refuse to fight."

Exchange 3: Complex dialogue paragraph

IU (question): Norm

s.16 The monkey asked, "What kind of fight do you want, friend?"

CU (proposal): Norm

s.17 The butterfly answered, "We will use sticks.
s.18 All of you bring sticks!"

RU (evaluation): Norm

s.19 The monkey said, "That's the kind of fight we like!"

TU (acquiescence): Split

s.20 "That then," said the butterfly, "is our promise, friend.
s.21 Don't forget when the full moon comes!"

Step-down (transition): Narrative sentence

s.22 The butterfly flew back to his home.

6.2 Episode 2

In the second dialogue the butterfly takes the initiative. Both participants are aggressive, but the butterfly clearly dominates. He has no stick and no companions with him, claiming that he will finish all the monkeys without any help. So this time it is the butterfly who is insulting the monkeys and they get so angered by this that they can't even see, which of course is part of the butterfly's strategy.

The preposed speaker norm is used throughout the dialogue, except for the initating utterance of Exchange 3 (s.34) where QF-1a (regular quote focus) is used. There the monkeys have reached a climactic stage of their anger, and they urge the butterfly to start the fight.

6.3 Episode 3 (Peak)

Then, as we have seen in the preceding texts, narrative outranks dialogue as a vividness device at peak when dialogue has been the established pattern in the prepeak episodes. The butterfly initiates the fight by descending on a monkey's nose, and then leaves just in time to escape a deadly blow from another monkey. The blow turns out instead to be deadly for the monkey whom the butterfly had just been sitting on. In this way all the monkeys except one are killed. Role reversal has occurred, and the monkey who is left begs for his life in the final dialogue.

6.4 Episode 4

In this third dialogue (Episode 4), regular quote focus (QF-1a) is the norm. The main conflict is over, but the butterfly still wants to punish the monkey. The dialogue is introduced with QF-1a (s.45), but then preposed speaker is used again in sentence 46 as the monkey begs for his life. In the butterfly's response to this (s.47-48), quote formula deletion (drama) occurs. The butterfly here claims that he will kill the monkey, because he was the one who was so brave as to challenge him. This claim marks the climax of the postpeak episode. The use of quote formula variants and deletion is quite similar to part of the 'old man sequence' in the Mag-agong story (s.45-48, Mag-agong s.44-48).

The monkey begs for his life three times, and each time the QF-1a norm is broken. The first time is in Exchange 1 (s.46) where preposed speaker is used. The second time, in Exchange 3 (s.52), the double barreled formula is used, with preposed speaker as the first part of the formula. And then finally in Exchange 4 (s.58) the split quote is used. The split quote is also used in the terminating utterance of the dialogue (s.63) where the monkey agrees to the butterfly's final proposal. And then ultimately, in Exchange 5, the final utterance of the whole story, the speaker (the butterfly) is preposed to highlight him as hero. Below is a display of the final dialogue:

Episode: Compound dialogue paragraph (Norm: QF-1a)

Lead-in

s.44 The butterfly sat down in the talisay tree.

Exchange 1: Complex dialogue paragraph

IU (remark): Norm

s.45 Said he, "I first need to rest, friend, because you are the one I will kill now."

CU (proposal): Preposed speaker

s.46 The monkey said, "Friend, please don't kill me!"

RU (response): Quote formula deletion

s.47 "I will kill you, because you were the very brave one.
s.48 You were the one who challenged me to fight."

Exchange 2: Simple dialogue paragraph

IU (prop): Norm

s.49 Now the butterfly said [Lit: said the butterfly (normal word order)], "Gather all your dead companions; pile them up."

Correlate (response)

s.50 The monkey piled up his friends.

Exchange 3: Complex dialogue paragraph

IU (proposal): Norm

s.51 Said the butterfly, "Hurry up, because you are the one I will kill now."

CU (proposal): Double barreled

s.52 The monkey cried, he said, "Pity me, friend!
s.53 Just tell me what you will have me do."

Correlate (response)

s.54 Long afterwards, he had finished piling up the dead monkeys.

Exchange 4: Complex dialogue paragraph

IU (remark): Norm

s.55 Said the monkey, "Friend, I have already finished."

CU_1 (proposal): Norm

s.56 Said the butterfly, "Get your stick, because we will fight.
s.57 We shall see how much of a man you are."

CU_2 (response + proposal): Split

s.58 "Don't, please, friend," said the monkey, "I will not fight you.

s.59 Just tell me what you will ask of me."

RU3 (response): Norm

s.60 Said the butterfly, "Well, if you will not fight, I will make you a slave.
s.61 I will cause you to always twitch your eyes.
s.62 Everyday, whenever you rest, that is what you shall do, twitch your eyes."

TU (acquiescence): Split

s.63 "Yes," said the monkey, "I will obey, friend, if only you will not kill me I will do what you command me."

Exchange 5: Simple dialogue paragraph

IU (remark): Preposed speaker

s.64 The butterfly said, "If you will not obey what I have commanded you, then I have no sin if I will finish you."

Correlate: (response)

s.65 The monkey obeyed his promise to the butterfly.

Finally, in the closure, we are told that even today, the monkeys are twitching their eyes because they lost the fight with the butterfly.

7.0 Conclusion

We have seen that a narrator usually chooses one quote formula variant (QF-1a, QF-2a, or occasionally QF-2b) to use as norm for a whole discourse. Then he uses the other variants to highlight certain utterances within the discourse that are crucial to the plot, to convey more vividly the emotion or tension of the moment, or to mark transition points. Quote formula deletion, preposed quote and preposed speaker seem to occur only at peak, except for the case where preposed speaker is used as norm. Split quote and double barreled formula both have several different uses. Split quote can be used either to highlight a crucial decision or to highlight emotion. Double barreled formula can be used either to intensify a proposal and highlight emotion, or simply to mark a transition point and speed up the pace slightly. QF-1a and QF-2a, when not used as norms, mark transition points or highlight more vivid points that are not necessarily crucial to the plot development. Inclusion of the addressee in the formula marks the end of a dialogue paragraph.

I have ranked the different quote formula variants according to vividness, based on where they have been found to occur in relation to the plot, and the frequency with which they occur. The items at the top of the cline occur least frequently and only at peak, and therefore are considered more vivid devices.

Quote formula deletion is at the top of the cline. It has the most infrequent occurrence and is the one that is most markedly characteristic of peak. Preposed speaker and preposed quote are also limited to peak area and therefore are high on the cline. When preposed speaker is chosen as norm, it probably does not move lower on the cline. As norm it is still quite dynamic and makes the whole story more vivid. Split quote frequently involves rejection/acceptance of crucial proposals, and emotion, and is therefore high on the scale. The double barreled formula may go up or down the scale depending on which verb occurs in the first part, that is, whether it is a movement verb or a general or specific speech verb. On the cline here it is placed with split quote. This is its highest place and is obtained when it has a specific speech verb that, for example, intensifies a plea. QF-1a (regular quote focus) has the least specific function and is placed towards the lower end. As stated before, when QF-1a is norm, QF-2 (speaker focus) does not occur. QF-2a (regular speaker focus) functions as a boundary only when preposed speaker (QF-2b) is norm. QF-1a and QF-2a, as norms, are at the bottom of the scale.

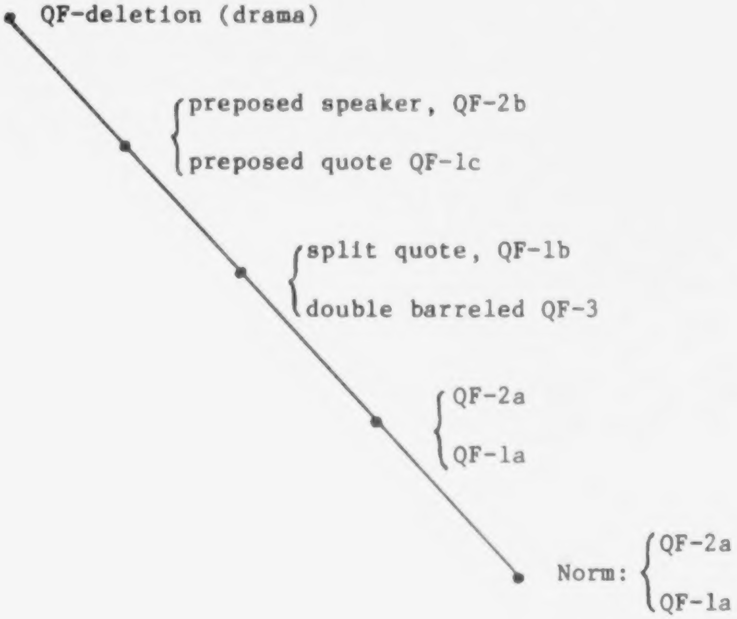


Figure 5. Cline of quote formula variants ranked according to vividness

We have also seen that dialogue formed the core of most episodes, being a more dynamic medium than the narrative which was used for the margins. However narrative was often used for the peak episode of a discourse or the peak sentence of an episode, and in this case, because it broke the pattern established before the peak, it outranked dialogue as a vividness device. Presumably, in a text with a pattern of non-dialogue in prepeak, dialogue would outrank narrative at the peak.

The most vivid devices of all are rhetorical quote and dialogue reported in the form of narrative. These are considered to be cases where the surface structure is skewed, and they are found only at peak.

Figure 6 is a cline showing how these are ranked as vividness devices. The parentheses represent deep structures. So, for example, 'Rhetorical quote' should read: 'Rhetorical quote, encoding deep structure events or actions'. At the top are the forms considered most dynamic, and at the bottom are the least dynamic.

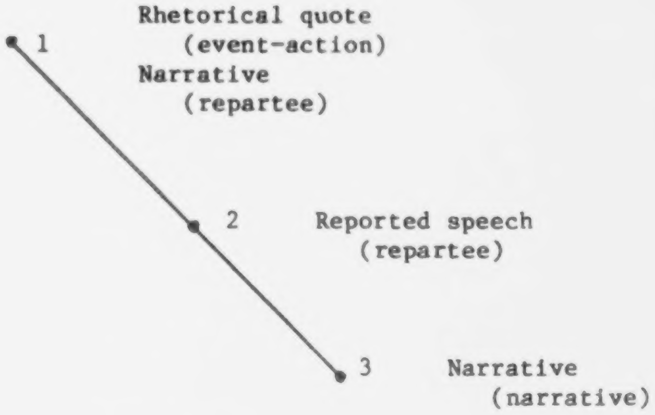


Figure 6. Narrative versus reported speech cline

NOTES

[1] According to the national census of 1975, there are about 4400 speakers of Kagan Kalagan, the majority of which are living in scattered communities around Digos, the provincial capital of Davao del Sur. McFarland (1980) classifies this language as a member of the East Mindanao group of languages which belong to the Central Philippine subdivision of Meso-Philippine languages.

According to Gallman (1977), Kagan Kalagan and Tagakaulo Kalagan, which share 72% cognates, belong to the western subgroup of the southeastern Mindanao group. The other member of this group is Islam-Mandaya which shares 69% cognates with the two Kalagan dialects. Speakers of each of these three dialects may refer to themselves as Kalagans. Speakers of Islam-Mandaya also refer to their language as Davaweño, a designation which McFarland uses in a wider sense to refer to the majority language in the municipalites north of Mati in Davao Oriental.

This study is based on Kagan Kalagan as spoken in Hagonoy, a neighbouring municipality to Digos with about 400 Kagans. Research on the language was started by Sherry and Andy Gallman in 1976 and continued by us in 1977. At the time of writing this paper we had spent about 4 years in that language group, in the baranggay of Leling. Our main language assistants have been barangay captain Bibiano Enangkile and Lorenzo Perez.

The texts for this study were written in 1977-1978 by Teodorico Resmondo. Mr. Resmondo is a member of Leling Kalagan community, and about 45 years old. He is a coconut farmer and a gifted and prolific writer who has given us valuable assistance with earlier linguistic and translation projects.

This paper was written during a linguistic workshop on discourse conducted by Dr. Robert Longacre in 1982 at the study center of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Nasuli, Bukidnon, Philippines. We hereby express our gratitude for help and guidance to Dr. Longacre, to Dr. Hazel Wrigglesworth who was the main consultant for this project, to Charles Peck who has acted as both consultant and editor, and to Rosemary Thomson who did extensive work on the manuscript to bring it to its final form.

[2] A quote formula introduces an utterance of reported speech by identifying the speaker and preparing for the following utterance by a speech verb.

The basic unit of reported speech is the utterance, which is defined as one or more sentences which are introduced by a quote formula.

[3] Lawung, 'said', is the only form of the speech verb used in QF-1. This unaffixed form is taken to have a deep structure quote focus. The reason for this is that when affixation is used with this verb there are three possible roles that may be focused: speaker, addressee or what is being said. With the unaffixed form, it is possible for nonfocused speaker and nonfocused addressee to cooccur. So it may be assumed then that it is the quote that is being focused.

[4] I have identified the prepeak and peak episodes by their 'resolution props' as follows:

Episode	Resolution prop
Episode 1 (s.3-28)	the 'light-tree'
Episode 2 (s.29-52)	the buligan bees
Episode 3 (s.53-76)	the linaday bees
Episode 4 (s.77-98)	the snake
Episode 5 (s.99-123)	the big stone

[5] A resolution prop is an object that plays a crucial role in resolving the conflict situation. Without it, the outcome of the story would be quite different.

[6] The following are the abbreviations used in the display of the text:

(Units of dialogue):	IU	initiating utterance
	CU	continuing utterance
	RU	resolving utterance
	TU	terminating utterance
(Units of temporal narrative paragraph):	BU	build-up (units are numbered before peak with the highest number immediately preceding peak. e.g. BU4)
	BU_n	peak (of temporal narrative paragraph)
	BU_{n+1}	post peak unit (units are numbered after peak with BU_{n+1} immediately following peak, and higher numbers for each successive unit. e.g. BU_{n+2}, BU_{n+3}, etc.)

[7] In the datu's first utterance in Exchange 1 (s.8), the specific speech verb 'to ask' explicitly refers to the deep structure question. But in the following resolving utterance (s.9), the general speech verb, 'to speak' is used to refer to what is a deep structure answer: 'The voice said (answered), "I am here ..." ' The correlate (s.10, a narrative sentence), which refers to the datu as he approaches the busaw, represents a response to the request for help. Then in the second exchange, the specific speech verb 'to ask' is used again for the initiating utterance (s.11), and for the resolving utterance (s.13) another specific speech verb 'answer' is used for the busaw's response. We see then, that for these first two exchanges of the dialogue, the propositional structure was explicitly referred to, with one exception (s.9). For the third and fourth exchanges, only the general speech verb is used, without reference to the propositional structure. Further study and analysis is needed to determine the significance of this and the relationship between the discourse structure and the explicit reference or lack of specific reference to the propositional structure.

APPENDIX

The following are abbreviations used in the texts:

F	focus
IN	inclusive
IN,2	inclusive, dual
PL	plural
PM	personal marker

KASAMPETANAN NA MUNA UTAW KAN TILANDUK
story by first person about Tilanduk

A STORY BY AN ANCESTOR ABOUT TILANDUK

1. Si Tilanduk manayilu, kay ya
PM Tilanduk.F orphan because the

ama aw ina nan pigpatay na busaw.
father.F and mother.F his killed by busaw

2. Sagaw si Tilanduk gayed da
therefore PM Tilanduk.F only just

mag-legeb-legeb tenga-tenga na kaguwangan.
used-to-roam middle-... of forest

1. Tilanduk was an orphan because his father and mother had been killed by a busaw. 2. That is why Tilanduk just roamed around in the forest.

3. Sang ka allaw kimita si Tilanduk sa
one 1 day saw PM Tilanduk.F a

dakwa kauy pagnganan saweng. 4. Ya pag-ay
big tree called light the trickle.F

na tagek na saweng simiken ay tuktuk aw
of sap of light came.from the top and

dimateng ay punuan. 5. Ya pag-ay na saweng,
arrived at root the trickle.F of light

adtu si Tilanduk ay dawem na kauy.
there PM Tilanduk.F at under of tree

3. One day Tilanduk saw a big tree called 'light'. 4. The trickle of sap from the 'light tree' came from the top and arrived at the root. 5. As for the trickle (of sap) from the 'light tree', that is where Tilanduk was, under the tree.

6. Yan migbawus sa uway.
he(that.one).F cleaned some rattan

7. We kadugay dimateng ya busaw. 8. Lawung
not long arrived the busaw.F said

na busaw, 'Unu ya pig-eya mu asiri?'
the busaw what the living.F your here

6. He was cleaning rattan. 7. Not long after, the busaw arrived. 8. The busaw said, 'What are you doing here?'
9. Tilanduk said, 'I am here at the foot of this tree because the

9. Lawung ni Tilanduk, 'Asiri aku ay punuan na
said PM Tilanduk here I,F at root of

kauy yani, kay dumateng ya dakwa samet
tree this because will.arrive the big wind.F

ay babaw na lupa, aw ya lahat na kauy
on surface of earth and the all.F of tree.F

mangkagabut. 10. Yani gayed kauy yani
will.be.pulled.out this only tree.F this

ya masama.'
the will.remain

strong wind will come over the earth, and all the trees will be uprooted. 10. Only this tree here will be the one that will remain.'

11. Lawung na busaw, 'Kallati aku.
said the busaw pity me.F

12. Kanak da ya kauy yani, kay
mine already the tree.F this because

matay aku na samet.' 13. Lawung ni Tilanduk,
will.die I.F by wind said PM Tilanduk

'Dili ku iyatag ya kauy yani.
not I will.give the tree.F this

14. Pag-anap da kaw sa kanmu.' 15. Lawung
search just you.F for yours said

na busaw, 'Ikaw ra ya pagpanganap.
the busaw you.F just the search

16. Atagan da kanak ya kauy yani.'
give just me the tree.F this

11. The busaw said, 'Pity me. 12. Let me have this tree because I may die from the wind.' 13. Tilanduk said 'I will not give this tree. 14. You just look for one for yourself.' 15. The busaw said, 'You be the one to look (for another). 16. Just give me this tree.'

17. Gayed da pig-egketan na busaw ya
only just ...-begged the busaw the

kauy, lawung nan, 'Atagan kanak ya kauy
tree.F said he give me the tree.F

yani.' 18. Lawung ni Tilanduk, 'Ee, kanmu
this said PM Tilanduk yes yours

ra ya kauy yani, kay mag-anap
already the tree.F this because will-search

da sa kanak. 19. Gayed lagketan ta
just for me only will.bind we.IN,2

17. The busaw just begged for the tree, he said, 'Give me this tree.' 18. Tilanduk said, 'Yes, this tree is already yours, because I will look for one for myself. 19. Let's just bind you here to this tree, because maybe the wind will come over the earth.' 20. 'Yes,' said the busaw, 'bind me.'

kaw asidi ay kauy yani, kay dumateng
you.F here by tree this because will.arrive

ya samet ay babaw na lupa.' 20. 'Ee,'
the wind.F on surface of earth yes

lawung na busaw, 'lagketan aku.'
said the busaw bind me.F

21. Piglagket ni Tilanduk ya busaw.
bound PM Tilanduk the busaw.F

22. Lawung ni Tilanduk, 'Buliten ta na
said PM Tilanduk will.smear we.IN,2 with

tageg na saweng ya mata mu para di kaw
sap of light the eyes.F your so not you.F

kumita sa dumateng ay babaw na lupa.'
will.see the will.arrive on surface of earth

23. Munda nan buliten ya mata na busaw,
until he will.smear the eye.F of busaw

ya busaw di da magkita. 24. Pigkamang ni
the busaw.F not more see took PM

Tilanduk ya tigtig aw pigsegaan ya tagek na
Tilanduk the flint.F and lit the sap.F of

saweng, aw miyeguy si Tilanduk.
light and escaped PM Tilanduk

21. Tilanduk bound the busaw. 22. Tilanduk said, 'Let's smear your eyes with sap from the 'light tree' so you will not see that which will come over the earth.' 23. He smeared the eyes of the busaw until the busaw could not see any more. 24. Tilanduk took the flint and set the 'light' sap on fire, and then Tilanduk escaped.

25. Ya busaw gayed da migpiyagit aw
the busaw.F only just screamed and

pagmatay, aw ya lawas nan misunug na atun.
wailed and the body.F his was.burnt by fire

26. Pagpanuyu na busaw, mibugtu ya
when.struggled the busaw broke the

uway piglagket kanan. 27. Lawung na busaw,
rattan.F bound him said the busaw

'Agad ayin si Tilanduk, anapen ku.'
wherever PM Tilanduk.F will.search I

25. The busaw just screamed and wailed, and his body was burnt by the fire. 26. When the busaw struggled, the rattan that tied him broke. 27. The busaw said, 'Wherever Tilanduk is, I will search for him (until I find him).'

28. Lawung ni Tilanduk, 'Sallinan ku ya
said PM Tilanduk will.change I the

28. Tilanduk said, 'I will change my shirt and pants so I

dagum   aw sawwe   para di kumila   ya
cloth.F and pants.F so   not will.recognize the

busaw.' 29. We kadugay kimita si Tilanduk   sa
busaw.F   not long   saw   PM Tilanduk.F a

banwa na buligan.   30. Pigsengseng ni
place of buligan.bees   closed   PM

Tilanduk ya gawang na buligan aw miningkud,
Tilanduk the hole.F of bees   and sat.down

migbawus sa   uway.
cleaned some rattan

will not be recognized by the busaw.' 29. Not long after Tilanduk found a nest of buligan bees. 30. He closed the hole of the nest and sat down, cleaning rattan.

31. We kadugay dimateng ya busaw.
    not long   arrived the busaw.F

32. Lawung nan, 'Tey, asidi kaw   kari.
    said   he   shucks here you.F really

33. Ikaw kari   si Tilanduk.' 34. Lawung ni
    you.F really PM Tilanduk.F   said   PM

Tilanduk 'Nanga di da   kaw   magkila   sa
Tilanduk why   not more you.F recognize the

utaw? 35. Unu ya dagum   ni Tilanduk?'
people   what the dress.F PM Tilanduk

36. Lawung na busaw, 'Mayitim.' 37. Lawung ni
    said   the busaw black   said   PM

Tilanduk, 'Nanga aku ya pigpatakenan mu?'
Tilanduk why   I.F the accused.F   you

38. Lawung na busaw, 'Ming kaw   na geya ni
    said   the busaw like you.F of face PM

Tilanduk.'
Tilanduk

31. Not long after the busaw came. 32. He said, 'Shucks, so this is where you are! 33. You really are Tilanduk!' 34. Tilanduk said, 'Why don't you recognize people any more? 35. How were Tilanduk's clothes?' 36. The busaw said, 'They were black.' 37. Tilanduk said, 'So why am I the one you are accusing?' 38. The busaw said, 'Your face is like Tilanduk's.'

39. Lawung na busaw, 'Unu ya pig-eya
    said   the busaw what the ...-live.F

mu asiri?' 40. Lawung ni Tilanduk, 'Migbantay
you here   said   PM Tilanduk watch

aku sa sinampan ni Umpu,   kay
I.F the jar   PM grandfather because

39. The busaw said, 'What are you doing here?' 40. Tilanduk said, 'I am watching my grandfather's jar, because that is what he left for my inheritance.' 41. The busaw said, 'Give that

ayawanan nan kanak.' 41. Lawung na busaw,
inheritance.F his for.me said the busaw

'Atagan da kanak ya sinampan yan.'
give just to.me the jar.F that

42. Lawung ni Tilanduk, 'Di ku iyatag,
said PM Tilanduk not I will.give

kay pangumbilin yan ni Umpu.'
because inheritance.F that PM grandfather

43. Lawung na busaw, 'Atagan da kanak,
said the busaw give just to.me

kay aku ya magdayaw san.' 44. Lawung
because I.F the take.care.of that said

ni Tilanduk, 'Kun pigginawan mu ya sinampan
PM Tilanduk if love you the jar.F

ni Umpu, iyatag ku kanmu, aw gayed
of grandfather will.give I to.you and only

ayaw paglalina kun asiri pa aku, kay
don't transfer if here still I.F because

magket ya ginawa ku.'
will.get.bad the breath.F my

jar to me.'
42. Tilanduk said, 'I will not give it, because it is an inheritance from my grandfather.' 43. The busaw said, 'Give it to me, because I will be the one to take care of it.'
44. Tilanduk said, 'If you love Grandfather's jar, I will give it to you, only don't transfer it while I am still here, because that will make me unhappy.'

45. Pigbanggetan ni Tilanduk ya banwa na
bound PM Tilanduk the place of

buligan. 46. Lawung nan sa busaw, 'Bila,
buligan.bees said he to busaw friend

miyak da aku adti mawat bagu lalina,
shout already I.F from far start transfer

kay magket ya ginawa ku.'
because will.get.bad the breath.F my

45. Tilanduk bound up the bees' nest (for carrying). 46. He said to the busaw, 'Friend, when I shout from afar, then you can start to transfer it, because I will become unhappy (if I would still be here).'

47. Pag-iyak ni Tilanduk adti mawat,
when-shouted PM Tilanduk from far

pigbaba na busaw ya buligan.
carried.on.back the busaw the buligan.bees.F

48. We kadugay miyagba ya banwa na buligan
not long broke the place of bees

47. When Tilanduk shouted from afar, the busaw carried off the bees' nest on his back. 48. Not long after, the bees' nest broke. 49. The busaw was really stung by the bees.

49. Ya busaw gayed da pineged na buligan.
the busaw.F only just stung by bees

50. Magkatuwad ya mabakla kauy
fell the big trees.F

pagkalumpakan na busaw, 51. Abay pagpiyagit,
where.jumped the busaw much when.scream

lawung na busaw, 'Si Tilanduk kari ya
said the busaw PM Tilanduk.F really the

utaw idtu. 52. Arun, agad tumagu kaw
person.F that now even will.hide you.F

ay Kilut anapen ta kaw.'
in place.of.dead will.search we.IN,2 you.F

53. Munda meguy si Tilanduk kimita sa
until fled PM Tilanduk.F saw some

patyukan pignganan linaday. 54. Si Tilanduk
bee called linaday PM Tilanduk.F

migbawus sa uway dun ay dawem na
cleaned some rattan there by under of

patyukan.
bees

50. The big trees where the busaw jumped fell. 51. While screaming a lot the busaw said, 'That person really was Tilanduk. 52. Now, even if you will hide in the place of the dead, I will search for you (until I find you).' 53. Tilanduk fled until he found some bees called 'linaday'.
54. Tilanduk cleaned rattan there under the bees (nest).

55. We kadugay dimateng ya busaw.
not long arrived the busaw.F

56. Lawung nan, 'Asiri kaw kari. 57. Ikaw
said he here you.F really you.F

kari si Tilanduk.' 58. Lawung ni Tilanduk,
really PM Tilanduk.F said PM Tilanduk

'Nanga di da kaw magkila sa utaw?
why not more you.F recognize the people

59. Unu ya dagum ni Tilanduk? 60. Nanga
how the clothes.F of Tilanduk why

aku ya pigpatakenan mu?' 61. Lawung na busaw,
I.F the accuse.F you said the busaw

'Maputi.' 62. Lawung ni Tilanduk, 'Nanga
white said PM Tilanduk why

55. Not long after the busaw came. 56. He said, 'So this is where you are. 57. You really are Tilanduk!'
58. Tilanduk said, 'Why don't you recognize people any more? 59. How was Tilanduk's dress?
60. Why am I the one you are accusing?'
61. The busaw said, 'white (was the colour of Tilanduk's dress).'
62. Tilanduk said, 'Why do you accuse me?' 63. The busaw said, 'Your face is like Tilanduk's.
64. What are you doing

pigpatakenan mu aku?' 63. Lawung na busaw,
accuse you me.F said the busaw

'Ming kaw na geya ni Tilanduk. 64. Unu ya
like you.F of face PM Tilanduk what the

pig-inang mu asiri?' 65. Lawung ni Tilanduk,
. .-do.F you here said PM Tilanduk

'Migbantay aku sa tapay-tapay agong ni Ama.'
watch I.F the tapay-tapay gong PM Father

here?' 65. Tilanduk said, 'I am watching the tapay-tapay gong of my father.'

66. Lawung na busaw, 'Kanak da ya
said the busaw mine already the

agong yan.' 67. Lawung ni Tilanduk 'Di ku
gong.F that said PM Tilanduk not I

iyatag yan, kay pusaka yan ni
will.give that because inheritance.F that PM

Ama.' 68. Lawung na busaw, 'Atagan da
father said the busaw give just

yan kanak, kay aku ra ya
that.F to.me because I.F just the

magdayaw san.' 69. Lawung ni Tilanduk,
take.care.of.F that said PM Tilanduk

'Ee, iyatag ku kanmu aw silang mu
yes will.give I to.you and if you

tingkuun yan na di dumengeg, kay
will.beat that.F when not will.hear because

magkaani-ani ya ginawa ku.'
will.become.sad the breath.F my

66. The busaw said, '(I want) that gong to be mine.' 67. Tilanduk said, 'I will not give it (to you) because it is inherited from my father.' 68. The busaw said, 'Just give that to me, because I will be the one to take care of it.'
69. Tilanduk said, 'Yes, I will give it to you if you will beat it only when I cannot hear it, because (if I will hear it) I will become unhappy.'

70. Miyanaw si Tilanduk munda mawat
went PM Tilanduk.F until far

da. 71. Pag-iyak nan pigtingku na
already when-shouted he beat the

busaw ya patyukan 72. Ya patyukan mingkauge,
busaw the bees.F the bees.F disturbed

pineged ya busaw 73. Ya busaw gayed da
stung the busaw.F the busaw.F only just

70. Tilanduk walked until he was far away. 71. When he shouted the busaw beat the bees (nest). 72. The bees were disturbed, they stung the busaw. 73. The busaw just screamed. 74. The trees fell where he jumped. 75. 'Shucks,' the busaw said, 'what

migpiyagit. 74. Magkatuwad ya kakauyan
screamed fell the trees.F

pagkalumpakan nan. 75. 'Tey', lawung na busaw,
where.jumped he shucks said the busaw

'sa kigamakan ku. 76. Kun kitaen ku si
the happening my if will.see I PM

Tilanduk, idali ku sa kutu na lupa.'
Tilanduk.F will.mix I with grain of earth

happens to me (is really bad). 76. If I will find Tilanduk, I will grind him into the ground.'

77. Si Tilanduk dimateng adti dakwa
PM Tilanduk.F arrived to big

nagan. 78. Lawung ni Tilanduk sa nagan, 'Kun
snake said PM Tilanduk to snake if

pangayuun kaw na busaw, iyatag ta
will.ask you.F the busaw will.give we.IN,2

kaw aw keskesi ya lawas na busaw.'
you.F and bind the body.F of busaw

77. Tilanduk came to a big snake.
78. Tilanduk said to the snake, 'If the busaw will ask for you, I will give you to him, and you just squeeze his body.'

79. We kadugay dimateng ya busaw.
not long arrived the busaw.F

80. 'Tey', lawung nan, 'asiri kaw kari,
shucks said he here you.F really

Tilanduk.' 81. Lawung ni Tilanduk, 'Nanga di
Tilanduk said PM Tilanduk why not

da kaw magkila sa utaw? 82. Beke aku ni
more you.F recognize the people not I.F PM

Tilanduk. 83. Unu ya dagum ni Tilanduk?'
Tilanduk how the clothes.F PM Tilanduk

84. Lawung na busaw, 'Binaneng.' 85. Lawung ni
said the busaw orange said PM

Tilanduk, 'Nanga pigpatakenan mu aku?'
Tilanduk why accuse you me.F

86. Lawung na busaw, 'Ming kaw na geya ni
said the busaw like you.F of face PM

Tilanduk. 87. Unu ya pig-inang mu asiri?'
Tilanduk what the do.F you here

79. Not long after the busaw came.
80. 'Shucks,' he said, 'so this is where you are, Tilanduk.'
81. Tilanduk said, 'Why don't you recognize people?
82. I am not Tilanduk.
83. How were Tilanduk's clothes?'
84. The busaw said, 'Orange.' 85. Tilanduk said, 'Why do you accuse me?' 86. The busaw said, 'Your face is like Tilanduk's.
87. What are you doing here?' 88. Tilanduk said, 'I am watching my father's 'twin animal' which I can use for travelling anywhere.'

88. Lawung ni Tilanduk, 'Migbantay aku sa
said PM Tilanduk watch I.F the

pingin ni Ama, pagsakay-sakayan ku agad
twin(animal) PM father travel.around I any

ayin.'
where

89. Lawung na busaw, 'Kanak da ya
said the busaw mine already the

pingin ni Ama mu gatang pagsakayan ku.'
twin.F PM father your so travel I

90. Lawung ni Tilanduk, 'Kun masagpu yani, unu
said PM Tilanduk if lose this what

ba ya pagsakayan ku?' 91. Lawung na busaw,
QU the travel.F I said the busaw

'Atagan da kanak.' 92. Lawung ni Tilanduk,
give just to.me said PM Tilanduk

'Ee, kanmu ra. 93. Manaw aku muna,
yes yours already will.go I.F first

kay magket ya ginawa ku,
because will.become.bad the breath.F my

kay pusaka yan ni Ama.'
because inheritance.F that PM father

89. The busaw said, 'I want the 'twin animal' of your father so I can travel on it.' 90. Tilanduk said, 'If I will lose this, what then shall I travel on?' 91. The busaw said, 'Just give it to me.'
92. Tilanduk said, 'Yes, it is already yours. 93. (But) I will first leave, (otherwise) I would become unhappy because it is the inheritance from my father.'

94. Mawat da si Tilanduk.
far already PM Tilanduk.F

95. Pagsakay na busaw pigkeskesan munda
when.rode the busaw squeezed until

banggetan na nagan migpiyagit ya busaw.
coiled.around the snake screamed the busaw.F

96. Miraman ya busaw. 97. Pimugtu nan ya
angry the busaw.F tore he the

nagan. 98. Pagkamatay na nagan, pig-anap
snake.F when.dead the snake ...-searched

si Tilanduk na busaw.
PM Tilanduk.F by busaw

94. Tilanduk was already far away.
95. When the busaw rode (the 'twin animal'), the snake coiled around and squeezed the busaw until he screamed.
96. The busaw got angry. 97. He tore the snake apart. 98. When the snake was dead the busaw searched for Tilanduk.

99. Si Tilanduk kimita sa dakwa batu
PM Tilanduk.F saw a big stone

adti keba na pangpang. 100. Dun si Tilanduk
at edge of cliff there PM Tilanduk.F

migbawus sa uway.
cleaned some rattan

99. Tilanduk found a big stone at the edge of a cliff. 100. There Tilanduk cleaned rattan.

101. We kadugay dimateng ya busaw.
not long arrived the busaw

102. Lawung na busaw, 'Ikaw kari si
said the busaw you.F really PM

Tilanduk.' 103. Lawung ni Tilanduk, 'Yan ya
Tilanduk.F said PM Tilanduk that the

mikaket kanmu, kay di da kaw
can.destroy you because not more you.F

magkila sa utaw.' 104. Lawung ni Tilanduk,
recognize the people said PM Tilanduk

'Unu ya dagum ni Tilanduk?' 105. Lawung
how the clothes.F PM Tilanduk said

na busaw, 'Mapuwa.' 106. Lawung ni Tilanduk,
the busaw red said PM Tilanduk

'Nanga kaw migpataken kanak?' 107. Lawung na
why you.F accuse me said the

busaw, 'Ming kaw na geya ni Tilanduk.'
busaw like you.F of face PM Tilanduk

101. Not long after, the busaw came.
102. The busaw said, 'You really are Tilanduk!'
103. Tilanduk said 'That is what can destroy you, because you don't recognize people.' 104. Tilanduk said, 'How were Tilanduk's clothes?' 105. The busaw said 'Red.' 106. Tilanduk said, 'Why do you accuse me?' 107. The busaw said, 'Your face is like Tilanduk's.'

108. Lawung na busaw, 'Unu ya pig-eya
said the what the ...-live.F

mu asiri?' 109. Lawung ni Tilanduk, 'Migbantay
you here said PM Tilanduk watch

aku sa pu ni Ama, kay
I.F the storehouse PM father because

dumateng ya dakwa ballus ay babaw na
will.arrive the big famine.F on surface of

lupa. 110. Sagaw pigbantayan ku ya
earth that's.why watch I the

108. The busaw said, 'What are you doing here?' 109. Tilanduk said, 'I am watching my father's storehouse, because the big famine will come upon the earth. 110. That is why I am watching this storehouse.' 111. The busaw said, '(I want) that storehouse to be mine. 112. I will pay for it with many

pu yani.' 111. Lawung na busaw,
storehouse.F this said the busaw

'Kanak da ya pu yani.
mine already the storehouse.F this

112. Bayaran ku na marayig impen.'
will.pay I with many treasure

113. Lawung ni Tilanduk 'Ayin ya impen
said PM Tilanduk where the treasure.F

mu?' 114. Lawung na busaw, 'Adti u na
your said the busaw at head of

sampaw yani, adti eyaanan ku
waterfall this at living.place my

114b. Pigbuntun na marayig impen.' 115. 'Ee,'
gathered of many treasure yes

lawung ni Tilanduk, 'kanmu ra ya
said PM Tilanduk yours already the

pu yani. 116. Dewa adti kamayu
storehouse.F this bring to your

eyaanan. 117. Dumawug da gayed.
living.place will.follow just only

118. Meneng, bila, lalinen mu ya
but friend will.transfer you the

pu yani, ayaw aku pagpakitaa,
storehouse.F this don't me.F show

kay magkaani-ani ya ginawa ku.'
because will.become.sad the breath.F my

treasures.' 113. Tilanduk said, 'Where are your treasures?' 114. The busaw said, 'They are at the head of this waterfall, where I live. 114b. I have gathered many treasures.' 115. 'Yes,' Tilanduk said, 'this house is already yours. 116. Bring it to the place where you live. 117. I will just follow. 118. But, friend, when you transfer this storehouse, don't let me see it, because then I would become unhappy.'

119. Miyanaw si Tilanduk, lawung nan, 'Kun
went PM Tilanduk said he if

matangkeg gayed idtu na busaw, dun
will.lose.balance only there by busaw there

katagab ya ummu nan.' 120. Pig-iketan na
end the life.F his ...-bound the

busaw ya pu aw pigsanggat ay
busaw the storehouse.F and carried on

abaga nan aw pigkuku nan.
shoulder his and used.headstrap he

119. Tilanduk went, he said, 'If the busaw will just lose his balance there, that will be the end of his life.' 120. The busaw tied the storehouse (for carrying), then he put it on his shoulders and used a head strap (for support). 121. When he stood up, the stone got out of balance. 122. The stone rolled

121. Pag-indeg nan mitangkeg ya
when-stood.up his got.out.of.balance the

batu 122. Mililid ya batu adti kensad na
stone.F rolled the stone.F at edge of

pangpang 123. ya busaw midugdug ya
cliff the busaw.F was.crushed the

pesa aw miyatay
bone.F and died

off the edge of the cliff. 123. The bones of the busaw were crushed and he died.

124. Miyanaw si Tilanduk munda dimateng
went PM Tilanduk until arrived

adti eyaanan na busaw. 125. Kinita nan ya
at living.place of busaw saw he the

buyag na busaw. 126. Pigpespesan nan ya
wife.F of busaw beat he the

buyag munda miyatay.
wife.F until died

124. Tilanduk walked until he arrived at the place where the busaw lived. 125. He saw the wife of the busaw. 126. He beat the wife until she died.

127. We kadugay dimengeg si Tilanduk sa
not long heard PM Tilanduk some

kasamuk na utaw adti muna. 128. Pigkadtunan
noise of people ahead ... went

nan. 129. Yan ya kinita nan, ya mga utaw
he that the saw.F he the PL people.F

pigpanlagket. 130. Lawung ni Tilanduk, 'Unu ya
bound said PM Tilanduk what the

pig-inang mayu asiri?' 131. Lawung na mga
do.F you here said the PL

utaw, 'Pigkebusu kami na busaw asiri, aw ya
people imprisoned we.F of busaw here and the

kanami eped pigkan da nilan.'
our.ex companion.F ate already they

127. Not long after Tilanduk heard some noise from people ahead of him. 128. He went (there). 129. That is what he saw, the people who were tied up. 130. Tilanduk said, 'What are you doing here?' 131. The people said, 'We were imprisoned here by the busaw, and they have already eaten our companions.'

132. Pigpaluwa silan ni Tilanduk, bubay
freed them.F PM Tilanduk woman

aw mga eseg. 133. Pig-ubus nilan pigde ya
and PL man finished they carried the

132. Tilanduk freed them, women and men. 133. They carried away all the treasures of the busaw (until nothing was left).

lahat na impen na busaw. 134. Aw si
all.F of treasures of busaw And PM

Tilanduk mingasawa sa mga bubay pigpaluwa
Tilanduk.F married the PL woman freed

nan. 135. Miinang dakwa datu. 136. Asidi
he was.made big datu.F here

kapupus ya kasampetanan kan Tilanduk.
end the story.F about Tilanduk

134. And Tilanduk married the women that he had freed. 135. He was made a great datu. 136. Here ends the story about Tilanduk.

THE ISIK STORY

12. Munda nan tagaran dimengeg sakanan
continue he to.wait heard he.F

sa kagabkab na panid na langgam.
the sound of wing of bird

13. Pagangad nan kinita nan ya
when.looked.up he saw he the

mangkabakla langgam miapun adti sanga na
PL.big bird.F sitting at branch of

mabakla kauy. 14. Pito silan ya karayg.
big tree seven they.F the number

15. 'Di ku panaen, 16. Tanawun ku kun unu
not I will.shoot will.see I if what

ya inangen nilan,' lawung ni Isik.
the will.do they said PM Isik

THE ISIK STORY

12. He waited until he heard the sound of wings. 13. When he looked up he saw some big birds sitting on the branch of a big tree. 14. They were seven. 15. 'I will not shoot. 16. I will see what they will do,' said Isik.

17. We kadugay migpatingkawgan ya mga
not long flew.down the PL

langgam adti lupa. 18. Pigtengtengan ni Isik
bird to ground looked PM Isik

kun una ya inangen nilan. 19. We kadugay
if what the will.do.F they not long

miglubas sa dagum nilan, pigbetang nilan
took.off the clothes their put they

adti lupa. 20. Ya bubu dagum 21. 'Mga
on ground the feather.F clothes PL

utaw kari ya langgam, Migsug gayed sa
people really the bird.F wearing only the

bubu na langgam,' lawung ni Isik.
feather of bird said PM Isik

17. Not long after the birds flew down to the ground. 18. Isik looked to see what they would do. 19. Not long after they took off their clothes and put them on the ground. 20. The feathers were clothes. 21. 'The birds are really people. They were only wearing bird feathers,' Isik said.

22. Ya mga bubay yani way
the PL woman.F this no.one

makasupu asiri ay babaw na lupa.
able.to.compare here on surface of earth

22. As for those women, there was no one who could compare with them on the surface of the earth.

35. We kadugay pigdud ni Isik
not long approached PM Isik

36. Mingipi ya bubay pagkita nan kan
tried.to.hide the woman saw she PM

Isik. 37. 'Nanga kaw migsugaw?' lawung ni
Isik why you.F cry said PM

Isik. 38. Pig-ayawan aku na mga maguwang
Isik ...-left me.F by PL older.sibling

ku aw pigde nilan ya dagum ku. 39. 'Ayaw
my and took they the clothes my don't

pagkaliru,' lawung ni Isik, 'agad kaw
be.sad said PM Isik come.with you.F

kanak kay iyatag ku kanmu ya dagmay ni
me because will.give I you the skirt.F PM

Ina.' 40. 'Di aku makaindeg, kay way tabun
mother not I can.stand because no cover

na lawas ku,' lawung na bubay. 41. Pig-atag ni
of body my said the woman ...-gave PM

Isik ya kubaw nan, pigtampeng sa lawas na
I the turban.F his covered the body of

bubay aw pigsipit nan miyuli.
woman and carried he went.home

35. Not long after, Isik approached her. 36. The woman tried to hide when she saw Isik. 37. 'Why do you cry?' said Isik. 38. I was left behind by my siblings, and they took my clothes. 39. 'Don't be sad,' said Isik, 'Come with me because I will give you my mother's skirt.' 40. 'I cannot stand up because I have no covering for my body,' said the woman. 41. Isik gave his turban to cover the woman's body with and carried her home.

KASAMPETANAN NA MAG-AGONG
story Mag-agong

THE MAG-AGONG STORY

Kasampetanan kabung na muna utaw na
story old by first person about

datu a tamisa na mig-eya ay pagsilatan
datu who only.son who ...-lived in shining

na sega aw biya na mig-eya ay banwa
of sun and princess who ...-lived in place

Mag-agong
beat-gong

A story by an ancestor about a datu who was an only son and who lived in the east, and about a princess who lived in the place Mag-agong ('Gong-beat')

1. Sambuk allaw ya datu tamisa
one day the datu.F only.son

mikademdem manaw ay mawat banwa. 2. Miyanaw ya
thought to.go to far place went the

datu dime sa bawu nan aw timakus sa
datu.F brought some food his and carried the

kampilan. 3. Ya kanan bey buwanan aw
sword the his house.F golden and

kanan ayup piy-ayawan nan, kay diyengeg
his herds.F ...-left he because heard

nan ya kabantug na biya na mig-eya ay
he det fame.F of princess who ...-lived in

banwa Mag-agong.
place Mag-agong

1. One day the datu who was an only son decided to go to a far place. 2. The datu went and brought with him some food and carried his sword. 3. He left his golden house and his animals because he had heard about the fame of the princess who lived in Mag-agong.

4. Miyanaw ya datu munda manaw
went the datu.F continue walk

dimateng adti punuan na dakwa kauy.
arrived at foot of big tree

5. Migkawumay ya datu aw miglagdeng aw
got.tired the datu.F and rested and

mikatug ay punuan na kauy. 6. pagmata nan
slept at foot of tree when.woke he

dimengeg sa tingeg. 7. Ya tingeg midengeg nan
heard a voice the voice.F heard he

4. The datu went until he arrived at the foot of a big tree. 5. The datu was tired and rested and slept at the foot of the tree. 6. When he woke up he heard a voice. 7. The voice he heard was begging for help.

minganduy sa pakitabang.
begged for help

8. Mingusip ya datu 'Ayin kaw tepad?'
asked det datu.F where you place

9. Miglawung ya tingeg 'Ari aku ay tas na
said the voice.F here I at top of

buntud.' 10. Miyanik ya datu aw kinita nan
mountain went.up the datu.F and saw he

ya busaw na piglagketan na kadina.
the busaw.F who bound by chain

11. Mig-usip ya datu, 'Nanga aw
...-asked the datu.F why you.F

piglagketan asiri? 12. Wan ya se mu?'
bound here what det sin.F your

13. Timubag ya busaw, 'Mikase aku sa
answered the busaw.F sinned I.F against

eped nami, sagaw piglagket aku
companion our.ex that.is.why bound I.F

asiri.'
her

8. The datu asked, 'Where are you?' 9. The voice said, 'I am here, at the top of the hill.' 10. The datu went up and saw the busaw who was bound by a chain. 11. The datu asked, 'Why are you bound here? 12. What is your sin?' 13. The busaw answered, 'I have sinned against our companion, that is why I am bound here.'

14. Miglawung ya datu 'Unu ya mainang
said the datu.F what the can.do.F

ku kanmu?' 15. Miglawung ya busaw, 'Kun
I for.you said the busaw.F if

mallat kaw kanak, tibasa na kampilan
will.pity you.F me cut with sword

mu ya kadina para makaluwa
your the chain.F so will.be.able.to.escape

aku asiri. 16. Lawung na datu, 'Dili aku,
I.F here' said the datu not I.F

kay basi masiwang ya kampilan ku.
because maybe will.be.blunted the sword.F my

14. The datu said, 'What can I do for you?' 15. The busaw said, 'If you will pity me, then cut the chain with your sword so I will be able to escape from here.' 16. The datu said, 'I will not, because maybe my sword will be blunted.'

17. Miglawung ya busaw, 'Kun sugbuwan
said the busaw.F if will.bathe

17. The busaw said, 'If you will bathe your sword with my

mu na lana ku ya kampilan mu dili
you with oil my the sword.F your not

masiwang bisan unu ya tibasan
will.be.blunted whatever what the will.cut.F

asiri babaw na lupa. 18. Kun tabangan mu
here surface of earth if will.help you

aku iyatag ku ya lana yani.' 19. Miyalim
me.F will.give I the oil.F this agreed

ya datu 20. Kiyamang nan ya lana aw
the datu.F took he the oil.F and

pigsugbuwan nan ya kampilan aw pigtibas nan
bathed he the sword.F and cut he

ya kadina na pig-iket sa busaw.
the chain.F that ...-bound the busaw

21. Miutud ya kadina aw ya busaw
was.cut the chain.F and the busaw.F

migleya, kay mikaluwa ay lagket
happy because was.able.to.escape from bond

nan. 22. Ya datu aw busaw migsuway sa
his the datu.F and busaw.F departed on

dan.
way

oil, it will not be blunted, whatever you will cut here on earth. 18. If you will help me I will give you this oil.' 19. The datu agreed. 20. He took the oil and bathed his sword, and then he cut the chain which bound the busaw. 21. The chain was cut and the busaw was happy, because she had been able to escape from her bond. 22. The datu and the busaw parted company.

23. Ya datu miyanaw manaw dimateng
the datu.F walked will.walk arrived

ay dakwa tubig. 24. Tima ya datu aw
at big river crossed the datu.F and

pagdateng nan ay tenga-tenga na tubig,
when.arrived he at middle...- of river

limutaw ya dakwa buwaya. 25. Miglawung ya
came.up the big crocodile.F said the

buwaya, 'Ayaw pagtalipag asiri, kun
crocodile.F don't cross here if

legesen mu patayen ta kaw!'
will.force you will.kill we.IN,2 you.F

23. The datu walked until he arrived at a big river. 24. The datu (wanted to) cross, but when he came to the middle of the river, a big crocodile came up. 25. The crocodile said, 'Don't cross here; if you force your way I will kill you.' 26. The datu answered, 'Don't hinder me, because I still have a long journey (ahead) 27. If

26. Timubag ya datu, 'Ayaw pag-angaa,
answered the datu.F don't hinder

kay mawat pa ya panawan ku. 27. Kun
because far still the journey.F my if

angaen mu aku, aku ya magpatay
will.hinder you me.F I.F the will.kill.F

kanmu.' 28. Timubag ya buwaya, 'Ya
you answered the crocodile.F the

pigpatay ku na timalipag asiri, we pa ya
killed.F I who crossed here not yet the

kampilan na timawem sa lawas ku.'
sword.F that cut the body my

29. 'Kari!' lawung na datu, 'Arun, pagtagad
really said the datu now wait

kaw.'
you.F

you will hinder me, I will be the one to kill you!' 28. The crocodile answered, 'As for the ones I have killed who (tried to) cross here, there was no sword (they had) that could cut my body.' 29. 'Really!' answered the datu, 'Now you just wait!'

30. Pigsugbuwan na datu ya kanan
bathed the datu the his

kampilan na lana aw pigdud na buwaya
sword.F with oil and approached the crocodile

pigtibas nan. 31. Ya buwaya niyatay 32. Ya
cut he the crocodile killed the

datu timalipag asta dimateng adti dipag
datu.F crossed and arrived at other.side

na tubig.
of river

30. The datu bathed his sword with oil, and when the crocodile approached him, he struck it. 31. The crocodile was killed. 32. The datu crossed and arrived at the other side of the river.

33. Miyanaw aw miyanaw ya datu
walked and walked the datu.F

munda manaw pigdateng nan ya dakwa
continued to.walk arrived he the big

patag. 34. Simallep da ya sega
plain.F went.down already the sun.F

33. The datu walked and walked until he arrived at the big plain. 34. The sun had already gone down.

35. Munda manaw dimateng sakanan ay
continued to.walk arrived he.F to

35. The datu continued to walk

tagbi lagkaw. 36. Ya lagkaw yan pig-eyaan na
small hut the hut.F that lived an

bakleg. 37. Pagkakita nan sa bakleg, 'Marayaw
old.man when.saw he the old.man good

gabi, bapa!' 38. Timubag ya bakleg.
night uncle answered the old.man

39. Pigpanik nan ya datu.
caused.to.come.up he the datu.F

40. Mig-usip ya bakleg, kun ayin pa
...-asked the old.man.F if where just

siken. 41. Ya datu timubag, 'Siken pa aku
from the datu.F answered from just I.F

ay pigsilatan na sega. 42. Ya bakleg
from shining of sun the old.man

timubag, 'Itin, asiri ra kaw katug,
answered young.man here just you.F sleep

kay mawat ya pigsikenan mu.'
because far the coming.from.F your

until he came to a small hut. 36. That hut was where an old man lived. 37. When he saw the old man (he said), 'Good night, Uncle!' 38. The old man answered. 39. He invited the datu to come up. 40. The old man asked where (he) came from. 41. The datu answered, 'I come from the east.'
42. The old man answered, 'Young man, you sleep here, because you have come a long way.'

43. Sa we pa silan katug, ya datu
while not yet they.F slept the datu.F

mig-usip kun unu ya ngan na banwa pig-eyaan
asked if what the name.F of place ...-lived

nan.
he

43. Before they went to sleep, the datu asked what was the name of the place where he was living.

44. Ya bakleg timubag, lawung nan,
the old.man.F answered said he

'Itin, ya banwa yani pignganan Mag-agong.
young.man the place.F this called Mag-agong

45. Kun dumengeg kaw sa agong, agaw yan.
if will.hear you.F a gong notice that

46. Niyatay ya mingasawa sa biya.'
killed the marry.F the princess

47. 'Nanga yan magkamatay ya magpangasawa sa
why that will.die the will.marry the

44. The old man answered, he said, 'Young man, this place is called Mag-agong. 45. If you hear a gong, take notice! 46. Because then one (who wanted to) marry the princess has been killed.' 47. 'Why is it that those who (wanted to) marry the princess will die?' 48. 'I don't know,' said the old man, 'I

biya yan?' 48. 'Inday', lawung na
princess that don't.know said the

bakleg, 'we ku katigami kun nanga yan.
old.man not I know if why that

49. Marayig da itin ya mga datu
many already young.man the PL datu.F

na mingkamatay dun: Ya datu ay kawu na
who died there the datu.F from source of

tubig, ya datu ay pusud na dagat, aw
river the datu.F from middle of sea and

datu ay buntud na mag-umbud.
datu from mountain of humming

don't know why that is. 49. Already many, young man, are the datus who have died there: The datu from the source of the river, the datu from the middle of the sea, and the datu from the humming mountain.'

50. Arun ya datu we pakatug na
now the datu.F not able.to.sleep on

gabi yan. 51. Pigdemdem nan kun nanga
night that thought he if why

magkamatay ya magpangasawa sa biya.
will.die the will.marry the princess

50. Now that datu was not able to sleep that night. 51. He thought about why those who wanted to marry the princess would die.

52. Pagkakemdeg ya datu
when.become.morning the datu.F

miglawung sa bakleg, 'Bapa, kadtunan ku ya
said to old.man uncle will.go I the

biya 53. Ayawan ku kanmu ya kanak
princess.F will.leave I you the my

kubaw 54. Kun dengegan mu ya agong,
turban.F if will.hear you the gong.F

agaw yan, kay miyatay da aku, aw
notice that because dead already I.F and

ya kubaw bitaya ay pespesan na lagkaw mu.'
the turban.F hang at rafter of hut your

55. Ya datu miyanaw munda manaw dimateng
the datu.F walked continued walk arrived

adtu ay bey na biya.
there at house of princess

52. When morning came the datu said to the old man, 'Uncle, I will go to the princess. 53. I will leave my turban with you. 54. If you will hear the gong, take note of that, because then I am already dead, and (you can) hang my turban at the rafter of your hut.' 55. The datu walked and walked until he arrived at the house of the princess.

56. Pipanik na biya ya
caused.to.come.up the princess the

datu pigbetangan na lahat pagkan ya datu.
datu.F placed of all foods the datu.F

57. Tapus na datu mikakan, mig-usip
after the datu was.able.to.eat ...-asked

ya biya kun unu ya tud nan.
the princess.F if what the purpose.F his

58. Ya datu mig-ebat na 'Aku, siken ay
the datu.F .. -told that I.F from a

mawat banwa, miyari aku, kay dakwa ya
far country have.come I.F because big the

ginawa ku kanmu.' 59. Ya biya timubag,
breath.F my for.you the princess.F answered

'Kun giminawa kaw untu kanak, katug kaw
if breathe you.F really me sleep you.F

ay tambi yan, kun kakemdegan kaw,
in room that if will.reach.morning you.F

ikaw makatagtun kanak. 60. Ya datu miyalim.
you.F can.have me the datu.F agreed

56. The princess invited him up and placed all kinds of food (before him) before the datu. 57. After the datu had eaten, the princess asked what his purpose was. 58. The datu told that, 'As for me, I have come from a far country, I have come here because I love you very much.' 59. The princess answered, 'If you really love me, (then you must) sleep in that room; if you (can survive) until the morning comes, then you can have me.' 60. The datu agreed.

61. Sumed adti tagbi tambi kidemdeman
will.go to small room remembered

na datu ya pigtwara na ama nan:
the datu the taught.F of father his

62. 'Itin, ya utaw na tudturun malleg ya
young.man the man.F who sleepy soon the

kamatayen nan.' 63. Lawung na datu, 'Arun,
death.F his said the datu now

dili aku makatug. 64. Bantayan ku kun wan
not I.F will.sleep will.watch I if what

ya magpatay sa utaw asiri.'
the will.kill the people here

61. When he went into the small room the datu remembered the advice of his father, 62. 'Young man, the person who is sleepy will soon die!' 63. The datu said, 'Now I will not sleep. 64. I will watch (to see) what will kill people here.'

65. ya datu we pakatug. 66. Pigkamang
the datu.F not sleep took

65. The datu did not sleep. 66. He took the pillow. 67. He covered

nan ya unan. 67. Pig-abulan
he the pillow.F ...-covered.with.blanket

nan aw timagu ya datu adti sed na
he and hid the datu.F at inside of

kuwanganan. 68. Pigtagnus nan ya kampilan,
bed drew he the sword.F

pigsugbuwan na lana aw timagad kun unu ya
bathed with oil and waited if what the

dumateng. 69. Timenga-tenga ya gabi
will.arrive.F was-middle the night.F

awun mina samet diyengeg na datu.
there.was like wind heard the datu

70. Pig-igutan nan ya pag-awid sa
...-tightened he the ...-grip.F on

kampilan. 71. Maniki ya samet yan mina
sword cold the wind.F that like

ginawa na mannanap.
breath of snake

it with a blanket, and then the datu hid under the bed. 68. He drew his sword, bathed it with oil and waited for what would happen. 69. When it was midnight there was something like a wind that the datu heard. 70. He tightened his grip on the sword. 71. That wind was cold like the breath of a snake.

72. Timagad ya datu. 73. We kadugay
waited the datu.F not long

kimawas ya mannanap adti kuwanganan aw
came.down the snake.F to bed and

pigbanga nan ya unan na
bit he the pillow.F which

pig-abulan na datu. 74. Limuwa
...-covered.with.blanket the datu came.out

ya datu aw pigtibas nan ya mannanap.
the datu.F and stabbed he the snake.F

75. Pagkamatay na mannanap migtagad pa ya
when.dead the snake waited still the

datu kun unu pa ya dumateng.
datu.F if what still the will.arrive.F

76. Asta migkakemdeg we da ya dimateng
until became.morning no more the arrived.F

72. The datu waited. 73. Not long after the snake came down to the bed and he bit the pillow which the datu had covered with the blanket. 74. The datu came out and stabbed the snake. 75. When the snake was dead he still waited (to see) if anything (else) would come. 76. Until morning nothing more came.

77. Limuwa ya biya pigtanaw nan kun
came.out the princess saw she if

miyanu ra ya datu.
what.happened already the datu.F

78. Pagbukas na biya sa tambi
when.opened the princess the room

pigsungun na datu aw pigtulli na datu na
met the datu and pointed the datu that

niyatay nan ya mannanap
killed he the snake.F

79. Migpatagdu sa luwa aw
caused.to.drip the tears and

miglawung, 'Arun magad aku kanmu
said now will.go.with I.F you

bisan ayin mu aku dewa.' 80. Miyanaw
wherever where you me.F will.bring went

ya datu aw biya simakay sa kura.
the datu.F and princess.F rode a horse

81. Paigapit na datu ya bakleg
passed the datu the old.man.F

82. Muli adti pagsilatan na sega.
will.return.home to shining of sun

83. Asiri katapus ya kasampetanan na datu aw
here end the story.F of datu and

biya.
princess

77. The princess came out to see if anything had happened to the datu. 78. When the princess opened (the door to) the room, the datu met her and he pointed (to the snake) that he had killed the snake.

79. (The princess) shed tears and said, 'Now I will go with you wherever you will bring me.' 80. The datu and the princess went, riding a horse.

81. The datu visited the old man. 82. They went home to the east. 83. Here ends the story about the datu and the princess.

THE MONKEY AND BUTTERFLY STORY

1. Kasempetanan na muna utaw sa ube
story by first man about monkey

aw kalibangbang. 2. Sangka allaw adtu ya mga
and butterfly one day there the PL

ube migtipun ay kilid na dagat. 3. Marayig
monkey gathered by edge of sea many

silan, tuu silan masamuk. 4. Ya kalibangbang
they.F very they noisy the butterfly.F

limayug munda lumayug dimateng adti marayig
flew until fly arrived at many

ube. 5. Adtu ya kalibangbang miyapun ay tas
monkey there the butterfly.F sat at top

na talisay.
of talisay.tree

THE MONKEY AND BUTTERFLY STORY

1. A story by an ancestor about the monkey and the butterfly. 2. One day many monkeys gathered there by the seaside. 3. They were really many; they were very noisy. 4. The butterfly flew until he arrived at the many monkeys. 5. There the butterfly sat down at the top of the talisay tree.

6. Pagangad na ube kinita nan
when.looked.up the monkey saw he

ya kalibangbang 7. Miglawung ya ube,
the butterfly said the monkey.F

'Tey, bila sa kaambug mo.' 8. Ya
shucks friend at pride your the

kalibangbang timubag, 'Ayaw ako pagsinana,
butterfly.F answered don't me.F do.like.that

bila, kay we ko kamu ilabeti.' 9. Ya
friend because not I you.F wronged the

ube miglawung, 'Mabut da kaw arun
monkey.F said brave already you.F now

bila! 10. Kun matu kaw kanak tullu ko
friend if will.fight you.F me finger my

gayed ya ipatay kanmu. 11. Ya
only the will.kill.F you' the

kalibangbang timubag, 'Beke na tud ko
butterfly.F answered not of purpose my

6. When the monkey looked up, he saw the butterfly. 7. The monkey said, 'Shucks, friend, how proud you are!' 8. The butterfly answered, 'Don't treat me like that, friend, because I haven't wronged you!' 9. The monkey said, 'You are brave now, friend. 10. If you will fight with me, just using my finger, I can kill you!' 11. The butterfly answered, 'It is not my intention, friend, to fight.'

bila ya tanam.'
friend the fight

12. Ya ube miglawung, 'Tey sa
the monkey.F said shucks at

kataw mo bila ming kaw na beke na
cowardice your friend like you of not of

eseg.' 13. Mikaike ya lahat na ube, untu
man laughed the all.F of monkey very

nilan pigtampeyes ya kalibangbang. 14. Ya
they criticized the butterfly.F the

kalibangbang miglawung, 'Bila kun pigdablek
butterfly.F said friend if desire

kaw na tanam tagad kaw arun na katibuk na
you.F of fight wait you.F now at full of

buwan kay atuwan ko kamu.' 15. Ya
moon because will.fight I you.F the

ube timubag, 'Yan ya paganapen nami
monkey answered that the looking.for.F we

eseg, dili magdumili sa tanam.'
man not reject a fight

12. The monkey said, 'Shucks, friend, you are a coward, you are not like a man.' 13. All the monkeys laughed; they really ridiculed the butterfly. 14. The butterfly said, 'Friend, if you want to fight, you wait till the full moon, because I will fight against you.' 15. The monkey answered, 'That is the man we are looking for who will not refuse to fight.'

16. Ya ube mig-usip, 'Unu tanam ya
the monkey.F asked what fight the

kalim mo, bila?' 17. Ya kalibangbang timubag,
like.F you friend the butterfly.F answered

'Magpinedpeay kitarun. 18. Pagde kamu lahat
will.use.stick we.IN bring you.F all

sa barabas.' 19. Ya ube miglawung, 'Yan
some sticks the monkey.F said that

ya tanam pagkaliman nami.' 20. 'Yan da,'
the fight.F like we that already

lawung na kalibangbang, 'ya pakang tarun,
said det butterfly the promise.F our

bila. 21. Ayaw kamu pagse arun katibuk na
friend don't you.F miss now full of

16. The monkey asked, 'What kind of fight do you want, friend?' 17. The butterfly answered, 'We will use sticks. 18. All of you bring sticks.' 19. The monkey said, 'That's the kind of fight we like.' 20. 'That, then,' said the butterfly, 'is our promise, friend. 21. Don't forget when the full moon comes!' 22. The butterfly flew back to his home.

buwan.' 22. Limayug ya kalibangbang miuli
moon flew the butterfly.F returned

adti eyaanan nan.
to home his

23. Sa we pa dateng ya katibuk
when not yet arrived the full.moon.F

ya mga ube mig-anap da sa
the PL monkey.F ...-looked.for already some

mga baskeg kauy, mig-inang silan sa babaras.
PL hard tree ...-made they.F some stick

24. We kadugay katibuk da na buwan
not long full already of moon

migtagad da ya lahat ube adti kilid
waited already the all monkey.F at edge

na dagat.
of sea

23. Before the full moon arrived, the monkeys looked for hard wood and they made sticks. 24. Not long after, the moon was full and all the monkeys were waiting on the beach.

25. We kadugay dimateng ya sambuk
not long arrived the one

kalibangbang. 26. Ya mga ube mig-usip
butterfly.F the PL monkey.F ...-asked

'Bila, ayin ya mga eped mu?' 27. Ya
friend where the PL companion your the

kalibangbang timubag, 'Dili ako magkalim sa
butterfly.F answered not I.F like the

marayig eped ku. 28. Sire ku gayed matu
many companion my Alone I only fight

kamayu sa tigi. 29. Tanawun ta kun sini ya
you the test will.see we if who det

matalu.'
defeated

25. Not long after, the one butterfly arrived. 26. The monkeys asked, 'Friend, where are your companions?' 27. The butterfly answered, 'I don't like many companions. 28. I will fight you alone in the test. 29. We will see who will be defeated.'

30. Ya ube miglawung, 'Ayaw
the monkey.F said don't

pagkadun kay gayina pa kami timagad.'
delay.there because long still we.F waited

30. The monkeys said, 'Don't delay because we have waited long.' 31. The butterfly answered, 'Don't hurry your

31. Ya kalibangbang miglawung, 'Ayaw pagsasawa
the butterfly.F said don't hurry

ya kamatayen mayu kay matas pa ya
the death.F your because high still the

sega.' 32. Pigtempeyes silan na kalibangbang.
sun.F criticized them.F the butterfly

death because the sun is still high.' 32. The butterfly criticized them.

33. Ya mga ube untu da miraman,
the PL monkey.F really now angry

di da magkita sa sampu nilan. 34. Lawung na
not more see in anger their said the

ube, 'Kun mabut kaw, bila, ayaw
monkey if brave you.F friend don't

pagkadun.' 35. Ya kalibangbang timubag,
delay.there the butterfly.F answered

'Pigsasaw mayu ya kamatayen. 36. Inda
hurry you the death.F now

punuan da nate ya tigi.'
will.start already we.IN the fight.F

33. The monkeys were really angry, they could not see because of their anger. 34. The monkeys said, 'If you are brave, friend, don't delay there.' 35. The butterfly said, 'Don't hurry your death. 36. Now we will start the fight.'

37. Ya ube timubag, 'Kalleg kaw,
the monkey.F answered hurry you

kay tapusun ku ya ummu mu.' 38. Ya
because finish I life your the

kalibangbang limayug miapun adti ilung na
butterfly.F flew stopped at nose of

sambuk ube. 39. Pigbaras na ube ya
one monkey struck the monkey the

kalibangbang, paglayug misugat ya geya na
butterfly.F when.flew hit the face.F of

ube.
monkey

37. The monkey answered, 'Hurry because I will finish your life.' 38. The butterfly flew and sat down on the nose of the monkey. 39. The monkey struck the butterfly, which flew away, and the face of the monkey was hit.

40. Miapun da uman adti ilung na
flew already again to nose of

sambuk ube. 41. Pigbaras na eped nan ya
other monkey struck by companion his the

40. He flew again to the nose of another monkey. 41. His companion struck the butterfly; he did not hit it; their

kalibangbang, we kasugat, eped nilan
butterfly.F not hit companion their

miyatay.
died

companion died.

42. Munda miapun, marayig da ya
continue sit many already the

miatay ube, kay pagespesan na eped
died.F monkey because struck by companion

nan. 43. Munda magkalintapun, sambuk da
his continue transfer one already

kuman ya misama. 44. Ya kalibangbang
only the remained.F the butterfly.F

miapun adti talisay. 45. Lawung nan
sat.down in talisay said he

'Magpaginawa pa ku, bila, kay ikaw
rest still I friend because you.F

ra arun ya patayen ku arun.'
already now the will.kill.F I now

42. He continued to transfer; many monkeys died, because the companions struck each other. 43. He continued to move from place to place, until one only remained. 44. The butterfly sat down in the talisay tree. 45. He said, 'I just need to rest friend, because you are the one I will kill now.'

46. Ya ube miglawung, 'Bila, ayaw,
the monkey.F said friend don't

beg aku, pagpataya.' 47. 'Patayen ta kaw
please I kill kill I you.F

kay ikaw ya untu mapintas. 48. Ikaw ya
because you.F the very brave.F you.F det

miginggat kanak sa tanam.' 49. Arun lawung
challenged.F me to fight now said

na kalibangbang, 'Akuta ya mingkamatay
det butterfly gather det dead

eped mu buntuna silan.' 50. Pig-abut
companion.F your pile them.F piled

na ube ya eped nan.
the monkey the companion.F his

46. The monkey said, 'Friend, please don't kill me!' 47. 'I will kill you because you are the very brave one. 48. You were the one who challenged me to fight.' 49. Now the butterfly said, 'Gather all your dead companions; pile them up.' 50. The monkey piled up his friends.

51. Lawung na kalibangbang, 'Kallega
said the butterfly hurry

51. The butterfly said, 'Hurry up, because you are the

kay ikaw ra uman ya patayen ku.'
because you.F now only the will.fill.F I

52. Ya ube migsugaw, lawung nan, 'Kallati
the monkey.F cried said he pity

aku, bila. 53. Paglawung kaw unu, ya
me.F friend say you.F what the

ipainang mu kanak.'
will.cause.to.do you me

54. Kadugay mitapus da pagbuntun sa
long finished already piling the

mingkamatay ube. 55. Lawung na ube.' Bila,
dead monkey said the monkey friend

mitapus da.' 56. Lawung na kalibangbang,
finished already said the butterfly

'Kamanga ya babaras mu kay
get the stick.F your because

magtigi kita. 57. Tanawun ku ya
will.have.test we.IN will.see I the

pagkaeseg mu.' 58. 'Ayaw, beg, bila,' lawung
manhood.F your don't please friend said

na ube, 'di da matu kanmu.
the monkey not more will.fight you

59. Paglawung kaw unu, ya pangayuun mu.'
say you.F what the ask you

60. Lawung na kalibangbang, 'Arun kun di
said the butterfly now if not

da kaw matu sa tigi inangen
already you will.fight the test will.make

ta kaw allang. 61. Ya
we.IN,2 you.F slave the

ipainang ku kanmu, paingkewat kaw!
will.cause.to.do.F I you twitch.eyes you.F

62. Lahat na allaw kun maglagdeng kaw, yan
all of day if will.rest you.F that

one I will kill now.' 52. The monkey cried, He said, 'Pity me, friend. 53. Just tell me what you will have me do.'

54. Long afterwards, he had finished piling up the dead monkeys. 55. The monkey said: 'Friend, I have already finished.' 56. The butterfly said, 'Get your stick because we will fight. 57. We shall see how much of a man you are.' 58. 'Don't, please, friend,' said the monkey, 'I will not fight you. 59. Just tell me what you will ask of me.'

60. The butterfly said, 'Well, if you will not fight I will make you a slave. 61. I will cause you to always twitch your eyes. 62. Every day, whenever you rest, that is what you shall do, twitch your eyes.' 63. 'Yes,' said the monkey, 'I will obey, friend, if only you will not kill me, I will do what you

ya inanga, paningkewat kaw!' 63. 'Ee,' lawung
the do.F twitch.eyes you.F yes said

na ube, 'Tumanen ku, bila, basta di mu
the monkey will.obey I friend if not you

gayed aku patayen inangen ku ya isugu mu
only I.F will.kill will.do I the tell.F you

kanak.'
me

command me.'

64. Ya kalibangbang miglawung, 'Kun di
the butterfly.F said if not

kaw magtuman sa pigsugu ku kanmu, way se
you.F will.obey the command my to.you no sin

ku kun apnasen ku kamu.' 65. Ya ube
me if will.finish I you the monkey.F

migtuman sa pakang nan(nilan) sa
obeyed the promise their to

kalibangbang. 66. Asta arun ya pag-inangen na
butterfly and now the will.do.F the

ube pirmi magpaningkewat, kay
monkey always will.twitch.eyes because

mitalu silan sa tigi.
defeat.AF.2 they.F the test

64. The butterfly said, 'If you will not obey what I have commanded then I have no sin if I will finish you.' 65. The monkey obeyed his promise to the butterfly. 66. And now that is what the monkeys do; they twitch their eyes because they were defeated in the test.

67. Asiri katapus ya kasempetanan na
here finish the story.F by

muna utaw sa pagtigi na kalibangbang aw
first man about testing of butterfly and

ube.
monkey

67. Here is the end of the story from the first man about the testing of the butterfly and the monkey.

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STATIVE VERBS AT PEAK
IN AGUSAN MANOBO NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

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1. Introduction
2. The peak of a narrative discourse
3. Grammatical devices of eventline system for indicating peak
4. Grammatical devices of emotive system for indicating peak
5. Summary
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1. Introduction

In the analysis of a narrative discourse it is helpful to trace the series of events which forms the developmental sequence of the narrative. This eventline constitutes the backbone of the text and is explicitly marked in the surface structure in a significant number of languages around the world.[1] Many Philippine languages do make a formal distinction between events which are to receive prominence and are thus placed on the backbone, and those that are not on the main eventline. In these languages the backbone is typically marked by independent clauses which contain active, past time aspect verbs for predicate.[2]

This is true for the Agusan Manobo[3] language. But a further study revealed as well a number of nonactive verbs which also occur as predicates of independent clauses. These stative verbs do not contribute to the developmental sequence of the narrative and thus cannot be considered to be part of the backbone. Yet they often form their own system of progression and culmination in a manner similar to the way in which active verbs operate.

The purpose of this paper,[4] then, is to explore this parallel system of stative verbs in order to discover how it contributes to the narrative.

2. The peak of a narrative discourse

As a narrator or storyteller proceeds with his text, he may wish to mark a certain unit of his discourse with special prominence so that his audience will not mistake the most crucial part of his story. Thus the narrator uses rhetorical devices to indicate the peak of his story. This peak can range from being quite distinct in some discourses to being almost imperceptible in others. Episodes, paragraphs, and embedded narratives can also be marked for their own peaks. Some narratives have no evident peak and Longacre (1976a:217) uses the term 'episodic' to refer to these.

Longacre (1976a:216) asserts that peak corresponds to the deep structure climax or denouement. Where both are marked in the surface structure, climax and denouement may encode as peak and peak' (peak prime) respectively.

3. Grammatical devices of the eventline system for indicating peak

The Manobo storyteller has a variety of grammatical devices that he can employ to mark a peak of the narrative he is relating. The narrator may choose to utilize one or more of these devices, his choice depending on his strategy, his skill as an effective communicator, and whether the peak is on the paragraph, episode, or discourse level. A study of more than twenty Agusan Manobo folktales and experience stories reveals that the features named in Sections 3.1 and 3.2 (and discussed in the remainder of the paper) are some of the more frequently used devices for indicating the peak of a discourse.

3.1 Eventline verbs in higher concentration at peak

One of the most obvious indications of peak is that a large proportion of the textual material within the peak belongs to the eventline, and consists mainly of backbone verbs. These are active verbs and are intentive and past. There is relatively little explanatory material in these passages in comparison with other parts of the text since most of the background information has been given previously, much of it in paragraph and episode settings. Concurrent with the increased occurrence of eventline verbs is the frequent use of the coordinate conjunctions aw and dow linking these backbone verbs. The noninitial verb(s) of such a pair or series will often switch to irrealis temporal aspect, and at peak the narrator will sometimes use the irrealis on the initial backbone verb(s) of such a pair or series.

3.2 The adverb dajun at peak

The adverb dajun 'then, immediately', whether in preverbal or postverbal position, is an indication of a peak in a narrative discourse. In the texts surveyed, all but two had at least one peak marked in this way. A postverbal occurrence of dajun in the particle position can often be translated 'immediately' and frequently occurs at peak, although not always. When employed by the narrator at a climax, postverbal dajun has the effect of quickening the pace of the narrative, and this intensified action is characteristic of peak. A preverbal occurrence of dajun, (and sometimes a postverbal occurrence as well) can roughly be translated 'then', but the English word does not express the same acceleration or urgency as does dajun, which signals to the listener that this is a crucial point in the narrative. Perhaps the word 'straightway', seldom used in contemporary American English, comes close.

Examples 1 and 2 illustrate the use of the features described above at the peak of a discourse.[5]

Example 1

Title: Gabino Mansaolog
Narrator: Natividad Bentoso

Bangun dajun si Gabino aw ahaa,
arose then/immediately DET Gabino and looked

si Maria man naan. Dajun
DET Maria indeed for.sure then/immediately

sakmumua aw panhadoki ni Gabino
embraced and repeatedly.kissed DET Gabino

Mansaolog aw ikagi, Pagpaantus nu
Mansaolog and said caused.to.suffer you

kanay.
me

Gabino got up at once and looked; sure enough, it was really Maria. Gabino Mansaolog embraced and kissed her and said, "You have made me suffer."

Dajun puknus si Maria aw
then/immediately struggled DET Maria and

uli diya to sa ugangan. Yupug
returned DEIC DET DET/DEM in.law chased

dajun si Gabino Mansaolog no
then/immediately DET Gabino Mansaolog LK

mig-iling, Inay, pagpaantus nu
AFF-said mother(VOC) caused.to.suffer you

kanay.
me

Then Maria struggled, breaking loose from his embrace and returned to her mother-in-law's house. Gabino Mansaolog followed her there and said, "Mother, you have made me suffer."

Migtabak to inoy, Pagpaantus nu usab
answered DET mother caused.to.suffer you also

ki Maria.
DET Maria

His mother answered, "You have also made Maria suffer."

Dajun uli si Gabino Mansaolog
then/immediately returned DET Gabino Mansaolog

aw himataji kan asawa din no ikaduwa.
and killed DET/DEM wife his LK second

Then Gabino Mansaolog went home and killed his second wife.

Example 2

Title: A Letter of Thanks
Narrator: Teofila Bada

Pagkita	dan	kanak,	migsigkon	dajun
when.saw	they	me	stopped	then/immediately

aw	pon-ug	si	brad	Galicia	aw
and	stepped.down	DET	brother	Galicia	and

kumustaha	a	din,	dajun	a	sakoy	aw
greeted	me	he	then/immediately	I	got.on	and

panow	koy	padoyog	diya	to	Silco
went	we(EXCL)	heading.towards	DEIC	DET	Silco

When they saw me they stopped and 'brad' Galicia got out of the vehicle and greeted me. I got into the vehicle and we went to Silco.

4. Grammatical devices of the emotive system for indicating peak

Alongside the system of eventline verbs on the backbone which build up to a climax and often cooccur with dajun and coordinate conjunctions at peak, there is a parallel system which the Manobo narrator has available to him for marking the peak. This is an emotive system and involves the use of stative verbs employed at strategic places in the narrative. These verbs often occur in pairs or in a series with the progression culminating in the final stative verb at the postpeak position. The fact that nonactive verbs can be used in initial position in an independent sentence and are in the same temporal aspect as the active, backbone verbs seems to indicate that they are crucial to the narrative. Certain particles occurring in the vicinity of peak also seem to be part of this system.

Peak may be broadly or narrowly defined. If defined broadly, statives occur within the peak episode; if defined in a more narrow sense, statives occur at prepeak and postpeak. The analysis used in this paper reflects the narrow definition of peak.

4.1 Stative verbs at peak

As he relates his narrative, a storyteller utilizes certain devices to convey to his audience the psychological and emotional effect of the events of the story upon the participants, and the feelings which the participants may have toward one another as they interact. Many of the emotions and attitudes of the participants are easily detected by an audience which has the same cultural and linguistic background as the author even when no special linguistic devices are employed. People are expected to react in certain ways in common situations in the shared world of the speaker and his audience.

Even so, a speaker may choose to highlight certain emotions for psychological effect or to explain a situation in which the attitude or emotions of certain participants are not predictable. Furthermore, when the speaker perceives that he does not share common experience with part or all of his audience he may feel a need to add more explanatory material which may result in an increase in his use of nonactive verbs including those which make explicit the psychological effect of circumstances on the participants as the story progresses through time. Whether he shares much or little in common with his audience, the Manobo narrator will often include stative verbs as a means of keeping the attention of his audience, and as an indicator of whether or not certain issues, particularly the crucial issue of the narrative, have been resolved.

Nonactive verbs then serve to explain certain psychological or physical circumstances crucial to the development of the narrative and/or as an attention keeping device of the speaker to heighten the suspense. Just after the peak, once the most crucial events have taken place and the suspense has been broken, a stative is often used to give the emotional response of the participant or participants who are most directly affected by the action which has occurred.

Although the narrator often uses stative verbs in greater concentration in the environment of peak, it must be noted that they can also occur scattered elsewhere in the discourse to give background information, and can occur in dependent as well as independent clauses.

4.1.1 Description of the psychological condition of a participant

In many Agusan Manobo folktales in which statives are used for psychological effect, the final stative in a progression is often a form of lipay 'joy', tukhow 'rejoice', or dojow 'good', which indicates that the resolution of the problem is a joyful one for one or more of the main participants involved. Many experience stories also follow this pattern. Example 3 illustrates this progression of statives to its culmination at or just after peak. The statives and nominalized statives in the text are underlined. The sentences of the text have been numbered for the convenience of the analyst and reader.

Example 3

Title: Wages of Right Living
Narrator: Teofila Bada

1-29. A woman had two sons, the elder whose character was bad and the younger whose character was good. The brothers settled in another place and each one got married. After a while the younger son and his wife went to visit his mother. As they approach his mother's house, the following occurs:

30. Katingaya dow kalimuut to pigbati din.
amazement and worry DET felt he

31. Natingaya sikandin su maaslag on
surprised he because big already

man seini bayoy no nakatugdok duon to
indeed DET/DEM house LK built DEIC DET

pigpinajagan dan notodun.
small.house.was.built their before

32. Nalimuut usab sikandan dow andei din
worried also they and where he

on ogpamangha on to inoy din.
already would.find already DET mother his

30. He was surprised and worried. 31. He was surprised because the house which was built where the small house had previously stood was very large. 32. He was also worried about where he could find his mother.

33-38. Three quotations occur here, the first with an iyan quote formula and the next two with zero quote formula. Forster (1982) suggests that the absence of a quotation formula is the highest level of vividness in Dibabawon dialogue. This would indicate that a peak is forthcoming. Indeed, the peak of the discourse does follow with a quick series of eventline verbs:

39. Nadinog dow pigkiyaya to tingog to
heard and recognized DET voice DET

tingog to inoy din, pigpikit to asawa din
voice DET mother his grabbed DET wife his

aw linagoy sikandan no migponhik.
and ran they LK climbed

40. Pag-abut dan diya to diatas,
when.arrived they DEIC DET up

pigpanggogey sikan inoy din.
embraced DET/DEM mother his

39. When he heard and recognized the voice of his mother, he grabbed his wife and they ran to the house and climbed the stairs. 40. When they arrived and got to the top of the stairs, he embraced his mother.

41-55. Afterward they received many riches and took them back, promising to return.

56-57. The elder son then noticed his brother's economic status had improved. Another progression of statives occurs here somewhat parallel to that which describes the emotions of his younger brother in 30-32 above. Only the sentences in this passage with stative verbs as predicate are included.

56.				
56.	Pagyaboy	to	pila	no aedow,
	when.had.passed	DET	several	LK days

natingaya	sikan	kakoy	no	yukos	to
surprised	DET/DEM	older.sibling	LK	male	DET

maaslag	no	kausaban	to	kahimtang	to	sikan	
great	LK	change	DET	situation	DET	DEM	

hadi	din.	58.	Sugu	to	katingaya
younger.sibling	his		urged	DET	surprise

dow	kasina,	wada	katighey	mig-andiya	to	sikan	
and	envy	not	delay	went.to	DET	DEM	

hadi	din	aw	pangusip.	59.	Nalipay
younger.sibling	his	and	inquired		happy

a,	suun	ku,	su	marojow	on	to
I	brother	my	because	good	already	DET

panginabuhi	nu	kuntoon.	61.	Mig-ikagi
livelihood	your	now		AFF-said

sikandin	no	konongkow	nalipay	di	diya	to	
he	LK	pretending	happy	but	there	DET	

didayom	to	kasing-kasing	pighipidan	din	to
deep	DET	heart-heart	hid	he	DET

tigbae	no	kusina.
intense	LK	envy

56. After several days, his older brother noticed a great change in the situation of his younger brother. 58. Because of surprise and envy, without delay he went to his younger brother and inquired. 59. He said, "I am happy, brother, because your livelihood is good now." 61. He said this pretending to be happy, but deep in his heart he hid his intense envy.

62-73. His brother explained the situation and a series of four active eventline verbs bring the elder brother and wife to the house of his mother. The peak of the episode is rather an anticlimax since he finds his elderly mother there in the small house as before. They immediately turn around and head home empty-handed. This episode peak is marked by two occurrences of the particle naan (see Section 4.2) in the emotive system and by the adverb dajun and two verbs occurring in the irrealis temporal aspect (see Section 3.2) in the eventline system.

74-78. The younger brother's story continues then with his return with his wife to the large house of his mother.

76. Pagpakadani	dan	da	aw	to
when.neared	they	just	and	DET

76. As they approached the house and looked up, what they saw was

pagyanghag	dan	iyan	nakitaan	dan	to
when.looked.up	they		saw	they	DET

bujag	no	malipajon	no	migpaabut	kandan.
old.woman	LK	happy	LK	welcomed	them

77. Pag-abut	dan	diya	to	diatas
when.arrived	they	DEIC	DET	up

pigboyong	dan	to	diya	bujag.
disappeared.from	them	DET	former	old.woman

78. Mig-ugpa	sikan	magtiajon	no	malipajon
AFF-lived	DET/DEM	couple	LK	happy

duma	to	mgo	anak	dan.
with	DET	PL	children	their

the old woman happily welcoming them. 77. When they arrived at the house that old woman had disappeared. 78. The couple lived happily there with their children.

The peak of the discourse comes at sentences 39-40. One would expect that the resolution of the statives including surprise and worry (sentences 30, 31, and 32) would come at peak or directly thereafter. However, the narrator postpones the joyful resolution (with the stative malipajon 'joy' (sentences 77,78)) to the end, pending the nonfulfillment of the hopes of the envious elder brother, and the final reward of the younger brother, as the title 'Wages of Right Living' suggests.

Figure 1 is a chart of the emotions of the participants as portrayed by the narrator in statives.

	Younger Brother	Older Brother
30	surprise (katingaya) worry (kalimuut)	
31	surprise (natingaya)	
32	worry (nalimuut)	
57		surprise (natingaya)
58		surprise (katingaya)
59,61		envy (kasina) hypocritical joy (konongkow nalipay)
78	happiness (malipajon)	

Figure 1. Chart of emotions of participants portrayed in statives

4.1.2 Description of the physical condition of a participant

Nonactive verbs can also describe the physical condition of one of the participants. These generally culminate just after peak in a stative verb which reports the recovery or death of that participant. Stative verbs which describe the emotional reaction of other participants to the plight of the affected participant often occur as well in the progression of statives before peak. After the recovery or death of that affected participant is known, the psychological reaction of the participants who have been awaiting the outcome, a reaction of either sorrow or joy, follows directly in the postpeak position. Example 4 illustrates the use of nonactive verbs to keep track of the physical condition and psychological response of participants. The statives have been underlined.

Example 4

Title: The Woman Who Turned Traitor to Her Husband
Narrator: Leonida Plana

6. Songo panahon nasakit si Adela. 7. Tigbae
one time got.sick DET Adela very

napoyok si Celso. 8. Pigpanambae ni Celso
worried DET Celso medicined DET Celso

sikandin. 9. Inggad nokoy on to intambae
her even what already DET medicined

din, wada gajod pagkarojow hangtod no namatoy
he not really get.well until LK died

da si Adela. 10. To kamatajon ni Adela
just DET Adela DET death DET Adela

tigbae ingkaguul ni Celso dow halus mamatoy
really grieved DET Celso and almost died

sikandin.
he

6. One day Adela got sick. 7. Celso was very worried. 8. Celso treated her medically. 9. Whatever medicine he used, she did not recover and finally she died. 10. Celso really mourned the death of Adela until he himself almost died.

11-24. Fifteen active verbs are now used to describe the provision of a magic flower, which Celso rubbed on the body of his dead wife at the episode peak (23-25). Use of dajun and the coordinate conjunction aw in 23 and 24 mark the eventline peak.

23. Kagi to seini tamsi, Celso, uli
said DET DET/DEM tamsi bird Celso go.home

23. The tamsi said, "Celso, go home right now and rub that

ka dajun aw ihapyas sikan buyak duon
you immediately and rub DET/DEM flower onto

to sikan patoy no yawa to asawa nu.
DET DET/DEM dead LK body DET wife your

24. Anoy man no natapus on to kagi to
when part LK finished already DET word DET

tamsi, mig-uli dajun si Celso aw
tamsi bird returned immediately DET Celso and

panghapyasi din to sikan daya din no buyak
rubbed he DET DEM carried he LK flower

sikan patoy no yawa ni Adela.
DET/DEM dead LK body DET Adela

25. Pila dak man to sugilon nabuhi si Adela.
what.happened.then.was revived DET Adela

26. Su nabuhi da man si Adela,
because revived just in.fact DET Adela

maaslag hilabi to pigbati din no kalipay.
great very DET felt he LK joy

27. Duon migsugud on usab to pag-ugpa
DEIC began already also DET living

dan no malipajon.
their LK happy

flower on your wife's dead body." 24. When the tamsi bird had finished speaking, Celso went home right away and rubbed the flower he had brought onto Adela's dead body. 25. What happened then was that Adela revived. 26. Because Adela had returned to life, Celso was very happy. 27. Then they again began to live happily.

The interrelation between the psychological and physical statives in the episode under consideration can now be seen in Figure 2.

	Physical condition (wife)	Psychological condition (husband)
7	sick (nasakit)	
8		worried (napoyok)
9	died (namatoy)	
10		grieved (ingkaguul)
	----PEAK----	
25	revived (nabuhi)	
26		happy (kalipay--nominalized stative)
27	----happy---- (malipajon)	

Figure 2. Relation between psychological and physical statives

Also significant in our discussion of the emotive system is the occurrence of the particles *da* and *man* in sentences 25 and 26. This will be discussed in Section 4.2.

4.2 Particles at peak

Certain particles seem to be part of the emotive system of stative verbs described in this paper and are another evidence of peak. The particles *naan*, *gajod*, *pa*, *da*, and *man* have been observed to function in this way, as illustrated in Example 5. Stative verbs in this example are in upper case and eventline verbs are underlined.

Example 5

Title: The Woman and Her Python Son
Narrator: Jose Havana

1-71. A princess married a python, incurring the wrath of her father, the king. One day the python asked his wife to throw him into the water to bathe. He didn't return, but after a while a handsome man came claiming to be her husband.

72. The woman *looked* at him, SURPRISED (naboyong).

73-75. (Conversation exchange--no quote formula)

76. The woman *stood* and *approached* the man.

78. The woman WONDERED (migduw-duwa), is he or isn't he my husband?

79-80. (Command given by husband--no quote formula)

81-83. (Conversation exchange--irrealis verbs in quote formula)

84. The woman WAS FORCED (napogos) to accompany him.

85-86. The woman THOUGHT (nailing to ginhawa din), if he heads for the house, he's the one.

87. The woman OBSERVED (paniidan) + (*pa* particle indicating surprise) that he was going there.

88. The man *called* to his mother.

89. The woman THOUGHT (nailing to ginhawa din), Oh, this really is (*naan* particle indicating confirmation) my husband.

90. She *embraced* him and *wiped off the perspiration*.

91. The woman was VERY HAPPY (nalipay).

Example 5 illustrates the use of nonactive verbs to express the doubt which was resolved at the peak of this discourse and highlighted by two particles, pa (sentence 87) and naan (sentence 89) indicating surprise and confirmation respectively. The stative indicating the transformation of the woman's emotional state from doubt to joy (sentence 91) comes directly after the peak (sentences 89-90).

5. Summary

Alongside the system of active, eventline verbs culminating at peak in Agusan Manobo narrative discourse, there is another system intertwined. This is the emotive system, the verbs of which usually also occur in independent clauses but are stative rather than active. These stative verbs sometimes form a progression which begins at prepeak and culminates directly after the discourse, episode, or paragraph peak. This system describes the psychological and physical condition of certain participants and states other circumstances crucial to the development of the narrative. It also serves as a device whereby the narrator can keep the attention of his audience as he regulates the level of suspense.

NOTES

[1] See Jones and Jones p.6 for a discussion of backbone in native American languages. They also cite studies that draw from a number of languages around the world.

[2] For discussions of this point in three other Philippine languages see Forfia, p.16; Hale and Elkins, p.28; and Wallace, p.53.

[3] Agusan Manobo is a Philippine language spoken by about 40,000 people who live mainly in the remote areas of Agusan del Sur, Agusan del Norte, and Surigao del Sur provinces of northeastern Mindanao.

[4] This paper was written at a discourse workshop held at the study center of the Summer Institute of Linguistics at Nasuli, Malaybalay, Bukidnon, Philippines, from June to August, 1982. I am grateful for the helpful suggestions and comments of Jannette Forster in the preparation of this paper.

[5] Abbreviations used in the text material throughout this paper are the following:

DEIC	deictic	LK	linker, ligature
DET	determiner	PART	particle
DET/DEM	determiner and demonstrative	VOC	vocative
EXCL	exclusive		

LIST OF TEXTS

The following is a list of 24 Agusan Manobo folktales and experience stories used as background material for this paper.

Author	Title
Bada, Teofila	A Letter of Thanks
	My Testimony
	The Origin of Rice
	The Second World War
	Subana and her Pet Crocodile, Subanu
	The Wages of Right Living

Author	Title
Bentoso, Natividad	Gabino Mansaolog
	Plant Life
	The Time of World War II
	The Wishing Ring
Gonzalez, Nenita	Baybajan
	Hunting in the Forest
	The Lazy Boy
	Lost in the Forest
	The Monkey and the Turtle
Havana, Jose	Christ Changes a Person's Life
	The Widow and Her Python Son
Martinez, R	The Adarna Bird and the Three Brothers
Plana, Leonida	Alicia's Experiences
	The Beginning of Pineapple
	The Woman Who Turned Traitor to Her Husband
Torres, Florenda	My Wedding
Unknown author	The Monkey and the Turtle
	The Orphan Boy

DEMONSTRATIVES AND THE PLOT IN YAKAN

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1. The problem and two hypotheses
2. The hypotheses as applied to three texts
2.1 Abunawas
2.2 Datu Kalun
2.3 A frightful experience
3. Conclusion
Notes
Appendix A
Appendix B
Appendix C

1. The problem and two hypotheses

What is it that determines which demonstrative will be used in a given place in a Yakan[1] narrative? The answer to this question has proven fairly elusive and this question leads to other questions. Apparently in Yakan a speaker is never forced to use a demonstrative purely by the requirements of clause or sentence level grammar. The choice to use a demonstrative at all is left to the speaker and this choice is apparently made on the basis of higher level, that is, discourse considerations.

If we posit the primary function of demonstratives to be that of marking definiteness, we soon become aware of the fact that the status of a 'specific known entity' can be marked just as well by -hin, a noun phrase clitic, which performs this function quite adequately without using a demonstrative.[2] Indeed, if a demonstrative is not used, it is obligatory to use -hin to mark 'specific known entities'. If we are to explain the function of demonstratives in Yakan adequately we will need to be able to say what they do in addition to marking definiteness.

Under what circumstances will a speaker choose to use a demonstrative rather than -hin? Our first hypothesis in response to this question was that demonstratives are used for emphasis, for added prominence. This hypothesis has been generally supported by later findings but in this form it is not specific enough since it fails to answer two relevant questions: 1. Prominent with respect to what? and even more relevant 2. What dictates the choice of a particular demonstrative? When native speakers of Yakan are asked this last question, their answer is that the choice is dictated by relative location, as diagrammed in Figure 1.

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	Set 1	Set 2	
close to speaker	inin	itu'	
somewhat removed from speaker/ close to hearer	iyan	iyu'	
remote	miya'an	Ī'/Ī'en	ley

Figure 1. The relative locations marked by Yakan demonstratives

(The demonstratives of Set 1 and Set 2 can all be used either as determiners or as pronominals. Those of Set 1 occur more frequently in text than those of Set 2. The demonstratives of Set 2 have an exclamatory function not shared by demonstratives of Set 1, and it is in this function that Set 2 demonstratives occur most frequently. The locative ley is included here as well since it also functions as a demonstrative, though not as a member of Set 1 or 2.)

In general, this relative location hypothesis has also been sustained by further study, but in the process a rather interesting residue of uses has emerged in which relative location can hardly be the explanation for the choice of the demonstrative. Consider the following examples.

We have an instance in which a participant, the crab, refers to himself in quoted speech with a pronoun followed by the remote Set 1 demonstrative, miya'an.

30. The crab says, "Don't scold me, I miya'an came here to tell
you something."[3]

The crab refers to himself and is talking about his present situation, so the physical location of the speaker (the crab) at the time that he says this and the location and time referred to in the quote are identical. If relative location were the only factor in the choice of demonstrative, it would have been more appropriately designated by inin.

We also have an instance of an occurrence of iyan in which relative location is of doubtful relevance. This example is from the Abunawas story which appears in full in Appendix A.

310. If wind iyan blows we will leave.

At the time of speaking there was no wind!

The relative location hypothesis also left unanswered the question of what motivates a speaker to use demonstratives at all. How do we explain the fact that in some stories we find a full set of demonstratives and in others almost none. Apparently the speaker is never forced by low level grammatical constraints to specify the relative location of an entity with respect to the speaker. Why do some stories seem to specialize in certain demonstratives to the neglect of others?

It was this question that drew attention to the fact that in addition to their locative uses, demonstratives have reasonably specific functions in highlighting various situations, participants, and props in relation to the plot. When used this way they act like clues to the hearer around which he is able to orient his listening strategy so as to maximize his pleasure in following the plot.

The system of plot-related highlighting which has emerged thus far is represented in Figure 2.

miya'an	gives a broad view of what is going to be important. It identifies that which is central to a given episode.
Ī'	marks a specific problem
ley	foreshadows a problem, maintains tension established by a problem
iyu'	marks the central problem
itu'	flags the onset of a peak
iyan	marks a crucial element of a plan or strategy or an element of a complication brought on by active participants. Sometimes it is used in dialogue to indicate that the speaker attaches special significance to the response elicited from the hearer, the response being identified in advance as a choice or initiative on the part of the one to respond which is of special interest to the speaker.
inin	marks facts, status quo, background information of special relevance to the plot.

Figure 2. System of plot-related highlighting

2. The hypotheses as applied to three texts

In the remainder of this paper we shall look at three texts--a folk narrative, an historical narrative, and a first person narrative--in order to see how well these two hypotheses (plot-related highlighting and relative location) are able to account for the use of demonstratives and provide a basis for their interpretation.

2.1. Abunawas

The Abunawas text is representative of folk narrative involving a trickster. As far as the relevant details of the story are concerned the narrator is omniscient. This means that he will be able to narrate the details of all relevant plans, plots, and crucial background information and will be able to flag those details appropriately with demonstratives. He will know why Abunawas does what he does, and will be able to interpret subtly to the hearer what is significant not only in the actions of Abunawas but also in those of his antagonists, accomplices, and rivals. We would expect, therefore, a rather full use of all demonstrative resources, and this expectation is fulfilled.

The story was told by Mangkabong, a middle-aged resident of Bohe' Baka, Basilan to Janet Pack and the first author (referred to here as 'Linda').[4] The story begins:

> 1. Listen, Janet and Linda, take this to America.
> 2. I have a story to tell. 3. It is called Abunawas.
> 4. Once there was a poor man and his name was Abunawas.
> 5. This Abunawas miya'an really wanted to work, he wanted to plow and to weed but he didn't have any tools, not even a hoe, and he didn't have a carabao.

From the relative location hypothesis we would conclude that Abunawas was distant from the narrator at the time of speaking, which would be expected in a folktale. The highlighting hypothesis predicts that Abunawas is to be the central participant in at least the next episode and this turns out to be true. The paragraph continues:

> 6. Day and night he just kept walking about, looking for some way of earning a living, but even so he didn't find any. 7. One day he was thinking and he had a desire to get married. 8. He said to himself, "What sort of a girl would I inin like and could live in harmony with? If she doesn't reason and think like I do, I don't want to get married."

The relative location hypothesis works fine here, too, since the speaker refers to himself with inin, the close-to-speaker demonstrative. What the plot prominence hypothesis tells us at this point is that Abunawas views his desires regarding a wife as factual background information. He is not so much formulating his desires as simply making them explicit as a basis for what follows.

In the first episode all demonstratives can be interpreted using the relative location hypothesis as well as the plot prominence hypothesis.

Let us examine the sentences of this episode.

> 9. One day he went to a certain older person who had a daughter. 10. He liked her daughter miya'an, so he went there to see if she perhaps also liked him.

This daughter is remote from the narrator as well as from Abunawas so *miya'an* is the demonstrative one would have expected according to the relative location hypothesis. Applying the plot prominence hypothesis we conclude that the girl is now the main person with whom the following paragraph is concerned.

> 11. So when he was there, he tested the thinking of the girl, if perchance their thinking was of the same kind. 12. One sentence he said to the girl, "You have many nice cows in yard *iyan*." 13. The girl answered, "What cows, Abunawas?" 14. He said, "Don't you see those many cows in yard *iyan*?" 15. The girl answered, "You are stupid, Abunawas, you call those cows but they are chickens *iyan*."

The yard is somewhat removed from both Abunawas and the girl and so *iyan* is the demonstrative we would have expected. But at the same time we can see how this also fits the plot prominence hypothesis as Abunawas is using his remark in sentence 12 as a test or strategy to find out if the girl will go along with his joking manner of speaking. All depends now on how the girl is going to answer. (Compare also sentence 28.) Then in sentence 15 the girl tries to make Abunawas look at reality as everybody else does. So it also is a kind of a test as to whether Abunawas will go along with her way of thinking.

The first paragraph continues:

> 16. Abunawas did not marry that girl *miya'an*. 17. "Girl *iyan* is really stupid," he said, "she doesn't understand when one speaks." 18. He did not get married.

In sentence 16 the narrator uses the remote demonstrative since for him, of course, Abunawas as a participant in the story is remote. But also this *miya'an* marks the termination of this girl's participation in the story. Further down in sentence 106 we have another instance where *miya'an* is used to mark the termination of a problem that is not going to be mentioned again.

In sentence 17 it is not clear what the location of Abunawas is relative to the girl, but from the choice of demonstrative it seems that the narrator perceives Abunawas to be still fairly near the girl. From the plot prominence point of view this is seen to be Abunawas' evaluation of the girl--the other side of the test--that she is stupid because she doesn't understand his words.

In the next episode we will look at some demonstratives that are not so easily explained.

One day Abunawas goes to town. On his way he meets an older man and woman who are coming from the market. He greets them saying, (sentence 22) "It is you *iyu'* Aunty, it is you *iyu'* Uncle."

This is a customary greeting used when meeting acquaintances, and either *iyu'* or *iyan* (the forms indicating semi-remoteness from speaker/proximity to hearer) may be used in the demonstrative slot. This fits the relative location hypothesis, but in this case the plot related hypothesis does not seem to apply. The people referred to by these demonstratives are not the central problem. (It is interesting to note, though, that they turn out to be instrumental in getting Abunawas' central problem solved, that of his finding a wife.) If the author had made Abunawas use *iyan* (the other commonly used form) it would not have fit the plot hypothesis either, since he would have signaled that even at that point Abunawas had a strategy in mind. We tentatively conclude here that *iyu'* used in a greeting falls outside the realm of the plot hypothesis in general. It is not altogether plausible to say that greetings are normally used to reveal the intent of the speaker.

The woman is carrying a coconut and the man some sugarcane. Abunawas asks if he may ask them a question (sentence 27). The woman says, "Sure, why not, what is your speech *ley*?"

They are there together talking on the road, so the *ley* cannot be explained as referring to a remote location. The demonstrative *iyan* might have been expected since the question will come from Abunawas and he is somewhat removed from the woman. On the other hand, if we look at it from the point of view of the plot related hypothesis, we see that the audience is being told to watch out for what Abunawas is going to say, that there is a problem coming.[5]

> 28. Abunawas said, "If it is all right with you, Aunty, I will make a hole in your head *iyan* or if you don't want that, I will just shave the skin off the legs of the old man *iyan*."

Both of these demonstratives can be explained by either hypothesis. The head and legs of the old people are somewhat removed from Abunawas. But also Abunawas is using this as a test to see if they will take his words literally or understand what he means by them. Their response is significant.

The people so asked are very much afraid and run for their lives. Abunawas runs after them. When they reach home they tell their daughter about the near disaster. The daughter explains to them:

> 36. "Its meaning *ley* is," she said, "person *ley* wanted to drink from the coconut, its meaning is, *miya'an* wanted to eat sugarcane."

The incident had happened quite a distance from the house and so this may account for the girl's use of remote demonstratives. Note that the incident could also be considered to be remote in time, and so either relative location or relative time will explain this use of the remote demonstrative. (In fact, in some places time seems to be more in focus than location.) But this usage may also be explained by the plot prominence hypothesis. The fact that this girl can interpret Abunawas' words and the fact that 'that person' is marked with *ley* foreshadow that both these items, Abunawas and the understanding of the girl, will bring about a complication in the story. When the girl refers to Abunawas with miya'an, it signals that Abunawas will be the prominent figure in what follows.

37. Then Abunawas thought, he said, "If it is like I', that girl iyan has good thinking."

Abunawas has obviously overheard the girl's explanation of what he said to her parents. He is close enough to hear what the girl says and he refers to her with iyan, which is to be expected since he is within hearing distance. But why is the distant form I' used for the first demonstrative? It is difficult to see why from the relative location/time hypothesis point of view. But from the plot hypothesis we see that the situation is a specific problem as it suggests a possible marriage candidate for Abunawas. And iyan signals that Abunawas is starting to formulate a plan.

Abunawas is considering marrying the girl. The parents fall into an exhausted sleep. The girl notices Abunawas and tells him not to come into the house. Immediately he comes in. The girl makes everything most comfortable for him and keeps telling him not to do things that she clearly wants him to do or not to take things that she has obviously prepared for him. He responds by obeying her wishes rather than her words. When the parents wake up, Abunawas gets their permission to marry the girl and they get married the same day.

In sentence 47 there is an interesting minor change in a sentence that is otherwise almost an identical repetition of sentence 37.

47. Abunawas thought, "If it is like I', this girl inin has thinking and this girl inin has reasoning."

From the location hypothesis it is not clear why I' is chosen; Abunawas and the girl are in the same room and the remote demonstrative doesn't seem appropriate. On the other hand the use of inin to refer to the girl is appropriate as far as relative location goes, since the girl is right there with Abunawas doing things for him.

From the plot hypothesis we see that I' marks a situation that is still a problem, since Abunawas is still looking for a wife and his mind isn't made up yet. The fact that inin is used here to refer to the girl in contrast to sentence 37 where iyan was used shows that it is now an established fact for Abunawas that the girl has good thinking, while in sentence 37 Abunawas wasn't so sure about it and was going to test it.

In this same episode there is one occurrance of iyu' which we cannot explain with either hypothesis. The sentence reads:

52. When she had wakened them she said, "Iyu', eat now, Father, Mother, our visitor here has already been fed."

Here as in sentence 22 it would appear to be used as a greeting or vocative particle rather than as a demonstrative.

For the following episodes we will just give a summary of the story and point out those demonstratives that pose a difficulty from the viewpoint of one hypothesis or the other.

Abunawas is now in a difficult situation, he has a wife but no means of income. His wife suggests that he try to borrow a carabao from the leader of the community so that he can plow his fields.

The wife goes to the leader and explains their predicament. The leader is willing to lend them a cow that is used for plowing on a long term basis on condition that they give him the first calf in payment. The wife takes the cow home and repeats to Abunawas the conditions that the leader set down. Then Abunawas says,

> 78. "How can that cow iyan have offspring, and what's more truly iyu' is a male."

The cow is somewhat removed from the speaker so both iyan and iyu' are to be expected. Also from the plot hypothesis point of view iyan gives an evaluation of the situation; it will be significant how the wife will respond to this new fact, and iyu' signals the central problem in this episode. How will they ever be able to fulfill the condition! But the next sentence reads:

> 79. "Even so," said his wife, "for we were told to use miya'an for plowing."

In the previous sentence the cow was marked with the demonstratives iyan and iyu'. All are still in the same location but now the cow is marked with miya'an. Why? The plot hypothesis has an answer: the cow is now the central thing that needs to be watched. The cow is 'on stage'.

So Abunawas uses the animal for a long time. But finally they have to begin to think about the payment. The wife offers to settle the matter of payment with the leader. She tricks the leader into saying that it is impossible for a male to give birth. Then she says that in that case they will just return the animal he lent them. And the leader can't but agree to take it back, even without a calf. When the wife comes home, Abunawas asks if the matter is settled.

> 106. She said, "Settled already miya'an."

This marks the termination of that problem and it isn't mentioned again.

Abunawas is glad that this problem is settled but immediately has new plans. He wants to butcher the cow. His wife objects because the cow really belongs to the leader, but Abunawas says,

> 110. "Ah, even so, we have been fooled by the leader iyan, we were poor and yet he fooled us."

The leader is far away from them. He is definitely out of sight, and so one would have expected the remote demonstrative instead of iyan. But from the plot hypothesis it can be seen that iyan is being used to mark part of Abunawas' plan to avenge himself. (If he had chosen miya'an, that would have put the leader on stage, and given him more prominence than he is intended to have, while if he had chosen I' it would have signaled that the leader was considered a problem at this point, and this was not the narrator's intention either.) At this point in the story it seems that considerations of plot are more important and overrule those of relative location.

Abunawas goes ahead and butchers the cow and then runs to the leader to tell him that the cow has fallen into a hole. He requests help from the leader to pull it out. When they arrive the only part still visible is the tail (which Abunawas had previously stuck in the ground). When they pull, the tail 'breaks off' and they have to give up the cow as lost.

The leader realizes after a while that Abunawas has fooled him so he sends his servants on two different occasions, once to insult Abunawas and once to demand an impossible thing. Each time the wife of Abunawas has answers that get them out of it and make the leader look somewhat stupid. These two episodes were told using hardly any demonstratives at all. And those that do occur can all be easily explained from the viewpoint of either hypothesis. At this point we cannot say why the narrator chose to tell these episodes with fewer demonstratives. To answer that question further study will be necessary.

The story continues:

166. One day the leader was thinking, he said, "If the feeling of person inin is like inin perhaps he is going to punish me and perhaps he will be made leader, Abunawas inin."

With the location hypothesis in mind one would have expected the remote demonstratives here as Abunawas is certainly out of sight, but the leader treats Abunawas and his feelings as being right there close to him. What might be the reason? Looking at it with the plot hypothesis in mind we see that this is being treated as important background information with special relevance for the plot. The leader sums up the facts about Abunawas as he sees them, and his estimation of Abunawas will be crucial to understanding the leader's further conduct.

The leader tries to think of a way to hurt Abunawas and concludes that Abunawas' wife would be the best target. He already likes her because of her wit. Abunawas realizes the leader's intentions and plans to teach him a lesson. He asks his wife to go and borrow some money from the leader because he wants to go on a journey to buy things in order to start a business. The leader gives her the money on condition that he is allowed to come and visit her after Abunawas has left. She agrees to it and then goes home and tells Abunawas all about it.

The story continues:

> 204. Abunawas went away during the day. 205. When it was evening the leader arrived. 206. What (do) you (know) inin, Abunawas hadn't left. 207. He had made a box outside in the weeds. 208. When he had finished the box he brought it into the house and placed it in the corner of his house.

Sentences 206 to 208 are the narrator's comments on the situation addressed to the audience. The phrase ine kew 'what you' (206) serves to highlight these comments for the audience and has a force somewhat similar to the English 'And wouldn't you know it?'; 'And what do you know but...'. Most frequently the inin is absent from this highlighting formula but it's presence here fits very nicely with the view that the narrator is adding one additional highlighting component to his comment. By the use of inin he highlights as fact the unexpected state of affairs that Abunawas never actually left on his proposed business trip.

The next sentence is almost a repetition of 205:

> 209. When it was evening itu' the leader arrived.

As this statement is made by the narrator and not by a participant in the story one would have expected a remote demonstrative. A possible explanation from the relative location/time hypothesis is, that for a moment the narrator places himself and the audience right at the scene for the sake of heightened vividness. The following sentence also has a close-to-speaker locative: 'Abunawas isn't here, he has gone'. But then in sentence 212 we have a remote locative again.

So, why does the narrator use the close-to-speaker demonstrative? The plot hypothesis tells us that it signals that the climax is soon to come. It is to be this evening. This is the only occurrence of itu' in all the texts examined, so any conclusions drawn from it are somewhat uncertain at this point. But this interpretation seems quite plausible in view of the way the rest of the demonstrative system is functioning.

While the leader and Abunawas' wife are talking together, Abunawas arrives. The woman suggests that the leader should hide, for otherwise Abunawas will surely kill them. She says,

> 216. "If you don't want to be found, go inside box miya'an.
> 217. And whatever Abunawas does here in the house, don't move so that you won't be seen."

As far as the location hypothesis is concerned either iyan or miya'an could be correctly used of something over in the far corner of the room from the speaker's point of view, though iyan would be the expected choice. From the standpoint of the plot hypothesis, however, the box now assumes very great importance since it is to be the central prop up through the climax of the episode. The choice of miya'an is clearly justified on the basis of its plot-related significance.

The leader quickly hides in the box (which is marked in sentence 219 with I', indicating that this will be a problem). When Abunawas enters the house he goes straight to the box and nails the lid shut. The next morning he starts painting the box.

225. I' now he used white for painting the box, I' blue, I' green, I' red, I' yellow, I' orange, I' violet.

Both hypotheses can be applied here. From the point of view of the narrator the happenings are far away and the painted box is also a big problem. But why does the narrator keep repeating it? I don't know any way to explain the repetition using the relative location hypothesis. But when the plot related hypothesis is applied it does make sense. The repetition really brings it home to the audience that something significant is going to happen with or to the box.

In the next sentence we are told that the box looked very nice indeed, like the plumage of a bird. A few sentences later Abunawas says he has a bird for sale, a bird that can talk. Now his plan is clear. The box has been made prominent by miya'an in sentence 216. The leader hiding in it has been marked with I' in sentence 219 as a problem. The painting of the box is marked with I' in sentence 225. All this makes it increasingly obvious that Abunawas has something special in mind concerning the box.

At this juncture it should be pointed out that this use of I', which marks the box as a problem, is the narrator's own subtle characterization of the situation. The problem is clearly not a problem for Abunawas, but rather for the leader and possibly also to some extent for the audience. (What on earth does Abunawas have in mind?) If these instances of I' had occurred instead in the words or thoughts of Abunawas they would have been much more difficult to account for.

After Abunawas has finished painting the box he goes to the leader's house and asks for him. The answer is,

231. "He is gone out, we don't know where iyan went."

Iyan is used here by one of the wives to refer to the leader who is not only out of sight of the speaker but whose location is not even known. From the point of view of the location hypothesis one would not expect a demonstrative to occur here at all, and certainly not the 'close to hearer/somewhat removed from speaker' form. This occurrence seems to fall outside the scope of the location hypothesis altogether. This leaves us with only the plot hypothesis as a possible explanation.

Abunawas has asked where the leader is. The wives, by using iyan to refer to the leader are indicating that they attach some significance to Abunawas' response to this situation. They may expect that he will be able to help explain the leader's absence, in which case the use of iyan as a test would not be at all inappropriate. In any event Abunawas has a decision to make, in view of the leader's absence--whether to tell the wives his business or to come back some other time. The wives clearly indicate that the next move is up to Abunawas and that they have some interest in knowing what that move will be. The next sentence reads:

> 232. Abunawas said, "If miya'an were here I would sell you something that I have brought from my journey."

The location hypothesis involves an interesting ambiguity at this point. The leader is in a box at the house of Abunawas, out of sight and distant from the scene of this dialogue. Based upon his knowledge of the leader's whereabouts, Abunawas is justified in using miya'an to refer to the leader. The wives, however, give no indication at all that they understand this use of miya'an as any kind of covert claim by Abunawas that he knows where the leader is. Apparently, either miya'an is appropriate for reference to entities of unknown location or this use falls entirely outside the scope of the location hypothesis.

By contrast, the plot hypothesis allows a straightforward interpretation. Abunawas considers the leader to be a crucial topic of his conversation with the wives and it makes no difference to his use of the demonstrative that the leader is even more crucial to this conversation than the wives at first suspect. Though in the following 44 sentences the talk is only about the bird, the audience knows that 'the bird' is the leader.

Abunawas excites the curiosity of the leader's wives about this bird and they want to see it. Abunawas tells them that when he brings it they will only be able to see the box but that the bird inside will talk if he tells him to. They haggle over the price and the wives say they don't have that much money. Then the birds speaks up:

> 264. The bird said, "There is much money, get it, iyu' there in the chest."

The chest is relatively close to the 'bird' and in sight of the wives, since all this takes place inside a one-room Yakan house. So the relative location hypothesis works well here. The plot hypothesis can also be applied if we consider that money is the central problem here--either the wives really don't know about the available money or they are unwilling to spend it. (Perhaps this use of iyu' is also pointing to the leader's central problem of getting out of that box!) In sentence 266 Abunawas says,

> 266. "There is lots of money I' in the chest, says the bird, buy it now."

Why is Abunawas using the remote demonstrative I' here rather than repeating the iyu' that the 'bird' had used? He isn't any further removed from the chest than the bird or the wives. The location hypothesis doesn't give us an answer here. From the plot hypothesis we can say that money is a specific problem here but not the central problem that it is for the leader or his wives.

Finally the wives buy the box with the bird for 3000 pesos. When they open it they find their husband. He is very much ashamed at being humiliated in such a way. He sends his servants to Abunawas to order him to leave the place and to threaten to kill him if he doesn't comply. Abunawas agrees to leave but asks for a little time as he will have to take his house with him. When the servants come back a few days later to see if he has left, they find the house covered with sails. Abunawas explains that since there hasn't been any wind he hasn't been able to leave.

310. "If wind iyan blows we will be able to leave."

There is no wind at the time and thus the wind as such has no location. But perhaps time might be the consideration here. If the wind comes in the near future he will leave. From the plot hypothesis we could say that Abunawas is laying a strategy. He pretends to believe that when the wind blows he will actually sail with his house. He doesn't intend to leave but hopes to outwit the leader again. He is playing for time right now, and is indicating at the same time that as far as he is concerned it is up to his hearer (better: the leader to whom his hearer will report) to make the next move, and he has obvious reason to attach some significance to that response. The leader stays firm and says that if Abunawas hasn't left in three days he will be killed.

On the third day Abunawas has to admit to his wife that he doesn't have any ideas as to what they could do and he asks her to go and buy the shroud for his burial.

337. Abunawas' wife didn't say much, she bought white cloth,
white cloth iyan was fifteen meters.

Why does the narrator use iyan here and not miya'an as one would have expected? From the plot hypothesis we would suppose that this is a hint from the narrator that the wife has some kind of plan involving that white cloth. And indeed she does have a plan. She asks Abunawas to pretend to be dead and she wraps him in the shroud. She calls the neighbours to perform the customary rites and goes to the leader to ask him to come to the house and to forgive Abunawas for all he has done to him. The leader makes it clear that he would never have forgiven Abunawas while he was living, but now that he is dead he will do it. Arriving at the house he addresses the 'body' and forgives Abunawas in front of all the people. At that point Abunawas gets up and says, "Thank you very much, Leader, that you really forgive me." The narrator closes:

373. We could just keep going. 374. But let us stop here now.
Wassalam.

2.2 Datu' Kalun[6]

This text is an historical narrative about the first datu' of Basilan and how he became a datu'. The story was told by Datu' Kalun's son, Sultan Moh, Unding Shariful Taha Kalun I. At the time when this story was recorded the Sultan was about 75 years of age.

In an historical narrative the narrator is much more restricted than in a folktale. He does not have the omniscience of a folktale narrator who knows all the crucial background information and all the plans of his cast. Some events that the narrator of a folktale would portray as plans can only be deductions or interpretations for the historical narrator.

In this narrative the remote demonstrative *I'*/*I'en* is often used to refer to the state of affairs at the time of the story in contrast to what we find today, and in those cases they seem to function independently of the plot structure. So we have the phrase *masa I'* or *masa I'en* 'that time' referring to the specific time of the period covered in the story. For example, sentences 56 to 58 read:

> 56. But at that time *I'* it wasn't like it is now. 57. There were no buses at that time *I'* or cars. 58. The people just walked, if they didn't ride horseback.

In one instance *iyu'* is used with reference to a present day condition and here *iyu'* also has no apparent function in terms of the plot structure.

> 277. They were here now in Nipa'. 278. They were working here now. 279. They even made a rice paddy. 280. *Iyu'* the ricefield is still here. 281. *Iyu'* Salapuddin Bandoho now has obtained the ricefield.

The story begins during the year 1861 in Cavite, a place not far from Manila. We are told that the leader of the Spanish civil guard in Cavite was a bad man. There were many who wished him dead, and finally three young men about sixteen years of age decided to kill him, if they got the chance. The opportunity came and he was killed. But because of this many people were interrogated and a lot of pressure was brought to bear on the community. Finally someone told who had done it. The authorities began a hunt for the three young men and two of them were caught and brought to court. The hero of the story, Pedro Cuevas, was not found, but he also, although he was not present at the trial, was sentenced to death along with the other two.

Up to this point in the story, almost the only demonstratives used are *inin* and *miya'an*. *I'* and *ley* each occur once but these are in an aside where the narrator interrupts his story to mention that he doesn't remember the surnames of the other two fellows. So we will not include them here in our discussion.

The civil guard is introduced with an existential clause in sentence 3, then referred to as 'person *inin*' in sentence 4, and after that referred to four times in various forms with *miya'an* in (sentences 6, 22, 24 and 31). The situation resulting from his death is referred to twice with *miya'an*.

In sentence 9 the three young men are also introduced in an existential clause, and are then mentioned four times marked with *inin*. It is only after their names have been given to the authorities that they are marked with *miya'an* and even then only once because soon afterwards their ways are parted and two of them are never mentioned again. Pedro Cuevas, the one who does appear again, is referred to the first time with *inin*. After that he is referred to twice more with *miya'an* and there is one instance where his situation is also referred to with *miya'an*.

Throughout the rest of the story miya'an is generally less frequent with the notable exception of the last few sentences. We do find, however, that most of the other demonstratives occur frequently.

How do the two hypotheses fare if tested against the use of inin and miya'an in this story? We will look at the relative location/time hypothesis first.

The story was told on Basilan Island in the southern Philippines while at least the first part of the story takes place near Manila and it all happened over one hundred years ago. So we would expect most of the narrative to have the remote demonstrative. Why then does inin occur at all? It might be hypothesized that the narrator speaks as if he is part of the family at Cavite and so people in some way connected with that family are considered close and outsiders remote. But why then would certain people such as the civil guard and the three young men be marked at one time with with inin and at another with miya'an? For example:

> 4. Person inin was very bad. 5. He was really hottempered. 6. Many people in Look were beaten and imprisoned because of person miya'an.
>
> or 22. ...so then these three boys inin planned to ambush...
>
> 37. Now that's what they said, that it was those three young boys miya'an, the three all called Pedro.

We dcn't think the location hypothesis gives us a conclusive answer. At most we could view location metaphorically and interpret the use of the near demonstrative as a device for imparting vividness to the story.[7]

If we look at them in terms of the plot hypothesis we can see that in sentence 4 important background information about the leader of the civil guard is given. Sentences 5 and 6 can be said to give more background information (although what sentence 6 states is really the result of his bad character traits). In sentence 6, according to the plot hypothesis, this man is brought on stage through the use of the demonstrative miya'an, and he will become the broad theme for the whole first part of the discourse.

We notice though that in the next paragraph the three young men are introduced and nothing is said about the leader of the civil guard. Three statements are made about the young men in which they are referred to with inin. These statements marked with inin give the important background information that the boys were about sixteen years old (sentence 10), they were from different places (sentence 11), and they were really good friends (sentence 20). Then in sentence 21 we are told:

> .. so these three boys inin planned to ambush the leader of the civil guard miya'an, and if they had a chance to kill him, they would kill him.

Here the leader of the civil guard is given prominence again. The *miya'an* is repeated, bringing him back into central prominence following the introduction of the three friends. So the man is on stage again. But the three fellows are not yet given central prominence on stage. What they do is not yet portrayed as having crucial significance; it is simply reported as a fact and they are not made particularly prominent until their own lives are endangered.

Earlier in the paper we raised the question as to why there are so many instances of *miya'an* at the beginning of the story--that is, in sentences 1-52. It seems to us that they draw attention to items of special importance even more than usual. After all it was a matter of life and death for all concerned. And besides that this incident brings about the circumstances that eventually bring Pedro Cuevas into the position from which he became datu'.

Up to this point nothing has been marked with *iyan* as a strategy or with *I'* as a problem. Apparently the narrator does not perceive these events to be part of a plan or strategy. They just happened. The one thing that was planned--the killing of the leader of the civil guard--was so well known already that it did not need to be marked with *iyan*. Besides the boys apparently had no ulterior motive for the killing--they just wanted to get rid of the man.

In sentence 51 we find the first occurrence of *I'en*.

> 51. Even though he (Pedro Cuevas) was not there, he was included in the judgment *I'en*. 52. When the verdict was given, they were sentenced to death. 53. So then, because it was like *I'en* ...the family was even more terrified.

This death sentence constitutes a big problem, and as such it is marked with the demonstrative *I'en*, which is repeated in sentence 53 where the situation is referred to once more. The location hypothesis does not at all conflict with the use of this demonstrative here, since the problem referred to at this point in the story is remote in both time and place.

The father of Pedro Cuevas now tries to find some way to avert the worst. He doesn't have any influential friends but he hopes that somehow he will find help. No plans are mentioned and there are no occurrences of *iyan*. At this point things are still more or less simply happening without any real strategy behind them. On his second trip to Manila the father sits down in the park of Malacañang, which is explained as having been a public park at that time. And Malacañang is marked here with *ley*.

It is the first mention of Malacañang. Why does it get this marking? It is unlikely that remoteness in either space or time is the reason since if it were, one would expect that Manila would also be marked in this way.

As it happens Malacañang turns out to be an important factor in solving the problem concerning Pedro Cuevas. And that is foreshadowed here in the use of *ley* to refer to it.

As the father of Pedro Cuevas is sitting there in the park some valuable birds of the governor's wife escape from their cage and perch high up in the trees. Many try to catch them but none succeed. The father of Pedro Cuevas has a plan for getting the birds, and here we have the first occurrence of iyan. Possibly this use of iyan even indicates that he took this opportunity with the hope of using it to help him achieve a more important goal later on, as we may surmise from what follows.

> 95. He said, "Don't be noisy, they iyan will just fly further away. 96. If you don't mind, just sit down, don't stand there."

The old man's ability is immediately challenged by bystanders.

> 99. They laughed at him, they said, "Who is that old man iyan?
> 100. Can he do iyan, catch them?"

We have here a strategy and a test both marked with iyan. These occurrences of iyan could possibly also be explained in terms of the location hypothesis, especially the latter two. The first one refers to the birds and they had been mentioned shortly before as being "I' (far) high up" in the tree tops. They are probably still in sight and so might perhaps still qualify for iyan 'somewhat removed from the speaker'. The other two refer to the father of Pedro Cuevas and his proposed action respectively. The bystanders are fairly close to Cuevas and his proposed action is about to happen in the near future, so we could expect iyan in both instances.

The father of Pedro Cuevas is the key figure involved in getting the birds back, and that leads to his being introduced to the wife of the governor. She inquires about his reason for being there at that time and eventually he tells her the whole story. The governor's wife then asks if he could bring his son to Manila. He answers:

> 131. "I cannot promise it. 132. Because he iyu' is in hiding.
> 133. Many months he has been searched for, but he hasn't been found yet."

From the point of view of the relative location hypothesis it doesn't seem right to mark the young man with iyu'. He is in hiding and can't be found. One would expect a remote demonstrative here. On the other hand, according to the plot hypothesis this would be the central problem. And indeed, the death sentence is the central problem, and how it was changed and finally lifted is the theme of the whole story.

Eventually the father finds his son and through the intervention of the governor's wife the death sentence is changed to imprisonment. Pedro Cuevas is taken to San Ramon prison near Zamboanga, and after five years there he manages to escape together with some of his fellow prisoners.

After their escape, the different places where they stay for any length of time are marked with iyan. All of these places are part of Cuevas' overall plan of establishing himself on Basilan. Also Suk (Jolo) and Pasangen (Isabela) are marked with iyan in a context in which one is a threat to the other. This fact also turns out to be part of his strategy to establish himself on Basilan as a free man. He keeps a check on the Tausug raiders from Jolo and in that way gives protection to the small naval base of the Spanish in Isabela.

It would be difficult to explain the use of iyan with these place names (sentences 213-286) using the relative location hypothesis. The places are at quite a range of distances from the location of the speaker, some like Jolo and Zamboanga being quite far away. There are also some place names which are not marked with any demonstrative at all.

Pedro Cuevas gradually gains control over some parts of Basilan. He marries the daughter of a respected leader on Basilan and through this alliance becomes more respected himself. The Spanish government recognize that Pedro Cuevas is a help to them. Later they specifically enlist his help and in return for it he is granted a pardon. At the same time he is also appointed governor of Basilan.

When the Tausug come and challenge his leadership on Basilan he succeeds in reaching a peaceful settlement. After that the Sultan of Jolo bestows the title of Datu' on him.

At the very end of the story (sentences 432 to 451) once again a great deal of use is made of miya'an. Pedro Cuevas had died and the elders of the Yakans are trying to find a successor. Two of his nephews are considered (his son was still a child then) and one of them is finally chosen. So different people are being brought on stage in quick succession and those who are going to be important are marked with miya'an. In addition to them, the days of the election and the funeral of Pedro Cuevas are also marked with miya'an as being of special importance. So this accounts for the frequent use of miya'an in this last passage.

2.3 A Frightful Experience

This account is a first person narrative telling of a very frightful experience.[8] One of my Yakan friends, Tawira Ulul, told it to me a few days after the incident had occurred. At that time she was about 18 years old. She lives in Libaken, Basilan.

This text is different from the other two in that it uses very few demonstratives. Miya'an is the one occuring most frequently, ley occurs twice, iyu' once and iyan several times all crowded together in one short paragraph.

We will give a summary of the parts that do not include demonstratives and quote the sentences that do and discuss each of the demonstratives.

One night after the family had gone to sleep they were awakened by loud wailing from the neighbouring house.

4. While I was asleep their screaming miya'an entered my ear.

5. I said, "Mother, did you hear Kakka' and the others ley?"

This whole experience happened a few days prior to the time of narration and the narrator was on another island when she told it, so we would expect the remote demonstratives. In fact we find no uses of demonstratives in this story that cannot be accounted for in terms of the location hypothesis and it is only in direct quotations that we find anything other than remote demonstratives. The problem that this text poses is not the choice of demonstratives used, the problem is rather that of explaining why the speaker chose to use demonstratives at certain points and not at others, and why she chose to neglect altogether the use of certain demonstratives which could certainly have been used if the location hypothesis were the only relevant factor.

The wailing had been mentioned in the previous sentence, so it could be marked with -hin here as known information. We find though that it is these shouts or screams that trigger all other incidents that night, so they are marked as being especially important, which fits the plot hypothesis. And in the next few sentences we are given the reason for the screams.

The ley in sentence 5 is in quoted speech. From the narrator's point of view the people in the neighbouring house are remote not only at the time of her telling but even at the time when it happened. So this one as well as the miya'an above can be explained from the relative location hypothesis.

But from the point of view of the plot hypothesis the ley is also very relevant. It adds to the situation a sense of forboding. It foreshadows the trouble they will find at the other house.

The mother and father of the household rush over and find the baby no longer breathing and blue already. The mother blows in the baby's ear and then she goes to get the imam for help. She takes her daughter Suing along.

17. Then they (Mother and Suing) miya'an proceeded. 18. But the child was conscious now, Tao was always rubbing her chest. 19. Mother and Suing miya'an, when they arrived at the place where the shed for making copra had been, met Attay and Timmy and Alpari (sons of Mother). 20. They miya'an came to find out what was going on because that night miya'an they had not been home but slept in the prayer house.

In sentence 17 Mother and Suing are the actors. They are put on stage as the most important people at this point in the narrative. Sentence 18 interrupts the scene involving Mother and Suing and so in sentence 19 they are made prominent once more. In sentence 20 other members of the family join them on the stage. All of these are now known to be of special importance.

All time references to that particular night get the miya'an in this text since it stands out in contrast to other ordinary nights in it's importance.

One of the fellows then goes with Mother and Suing, one goes to the house of the narrator and the other one, Attay, to Kakka' Ja'linan's house. But they haven't even entered the houses when they hear screams from the women.

25. Suing, "A person!" 6. Mother, "Where?" 27. Suing, "O iyu'!"

This is the central problem of the incident; Suing sees an apparition. Everything else had been leading up to this and the rest of the story tells how the different family members reacted to this situation.

From the relative location hypothesis we could have expected either iyu' or iyan, since the apparition was only a short distance away from her among the trees.

Attay and the father immediately run to the scene, the father with his sword drawn. The narrator thinks at first of hiding with her younger brothers in the underbrush because she thinks outlaws are coming to kill.

> 32. But then all four of us in the house miya'an went to the house of Kakka' Ja'linan.

This is the first time the narrator changes location and from now on she and the other three are also involved in the story and on stage. The following sentences report what went on in their new location (Kakka' Ja'linan's house).

A teenager in the house (all are now at Kakka' Ja'linan's house) tries to ward off spirits by scattering salt. Not long after, Suing arrives led by her brothers. She is scared speechless and is shaking all over. Mother and Father finally get the imam and the baby is taken care of. All the neighbours come to find out what the commotion was about, but they don't stay long.

> 41. Then when the people had gone home we had no more companions, it was just us two households miya'an. 42. But we, we did not go home, we stayed there at Kakka's house that night miya'an.

Now all the family members are together and on stage even though the mother and two smaller boys soon leave and go to the house next door. The narrator proceeds to tell how the different family members reacted that night. It is told in an overlay fashion in three paragraphs each of which covers the same stretch of time but describes the activities of a different participant. The first tells what Father did, the second what Mother did, and the third what the rest of the family did. The participants in these paragraphs are not marked by demonstratives as they are all on stage, having been brought into prominece in sentence 42. But the fact that the activities went on all night is stressed again in sentence 44 by the use of the demonstrative miya'an.

> 44. But Tao (the father) did not come into the house all night long miya'an; he was just outside lighting and tending fires at the front of the house and under the kitchen.

The mother also did not rest. She walked about with her lamp and also lit fires to ward off evil spirits.

> 46. Then she went back to the place-of-the-fright *ley* carrying a lamp and a sanggut-knife.

The *ley* here alerts the audience that something important is going to happen there, something that is of greater importance than what the others do.

> 47. When she arrived there she also lit a fire and she scolded.
> 48. She shouted for the one that had frightened them, demanding
> that he appear, "Even if *iyan*," she said, "your teeth are as
> long as the carabao-horn-banana, I will hit *iyan*. 49. I am not
> afraid of you even if you are called Grandfather Anggawin, even
> if your height *iyan* reaches up to the sky, I am not afraid of
> you, I will slash you *iyan*," she said.

The mother is challenging the spirit. And the *iyan* signals that she is very much interested in the response she will get. As it happened, there was no response at all.

From the relative location point of view *iyan* is the demonstrative to be expected as the spirit is believed to be in hearing distance but invisible.

Meanwhile those in the house did not rest either, they were afraid. The baby was terrified even though it was held on someone's lap. Nobody slept all night. At daybreak they went home and immediately went to sleep and slept til almost noon.

As we said earlier, there are very few demonstratives used in this text, no instances of *inin* at all, and *iyan* is found only in the one paragraph where the mother challenges the spirit.

This text has a different purpose from the other two, and that explains at least in part why *inin* and *iyan* do not occur other than in that one paragraph where *iyan* is used several times. The narrator wanted to let the audience participate in the fright and excitement of that night. So she did not give any explanations or background information. The participants and the locality of the incident already were known to the audience and so there was no need to give that as background information. None of the events were planned or looked upon as planned activities. There were no challenges made except that by the mother, and accordingly that is the only place where *iyan* occurs. Because of the paucity of other demonstratives the occurrances of *miya'an* are even more prominent. It really brings to the foreground the different people or groups of people that are prominent at each point in the story.

3. Conclusion

In this paper we have examined two hypotheses governing the use of demonstratives in Yakan, a location hypothesis and a plot hypothesis. We find that in many instances both hypotheses can explain the use of a particular demonstrative, but that in a certain crucial set of instances the location hypothesis is violated and the plot hypothesis can be seen as a reasonable explanation for the violation. In a very small number of instances we also find cases that can be explained by the location hypothesis but which fall outside the realm of the plot hypothesis. What we conclude from this is not that one hypothesis is correct and the other superfluous. Rather, we conclude that both hypotheses are valid within certain limits and that both are involved in the choice of demonstratives.[9]

We have seen that the narrator is never forced to choose a demonstrative simply to mark an entity as specific or known, since the suffix -hin can be (and is frequently) used for this purpose, and thus the very fact that a demonstrative is chosen becomes a matter to explain. For this purpose we find the plot hypothesis generally more helpful than the location hypothesis.

In the Abunawas story we saw a fairly full range of demonstratives used and were able to correlate this with the omniscience of the narrator and his consequent ability to pick out, by appropriate choice of demonstratives, not only central participants but crucial background information and clues to the plans and strategies of the participants. The lack of such omniscience in the historical narrative, Datu' Kalun, correlated nicely with a more restricted use of demonstratives. And in the Frightful Experience narrative we saw the extreme instance of an incident at once frightful and unexplained, with little that could be identified as crucial background or participant initiated strategy and therefore very few demonstratives were used in narrating it.

NOTES

[1] Yakan is a language spoken on the island of Basilan in the southern Philippines, and also along the coast and on some of the off-shore islands of the Zamboanga provinces. There are estimated to be between 40,000 and 60,000 speakers. Yakan is closely related to the Sama languages spoken in the Sulu Archipelago.

The texts used in this study were recorded at different times between 1972 and 1976.

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[2] A discussion of the suffix -hin is given in an unpublished M.A. thesis by Janet R. Persson 'What shall be our topic?' (MA Thesis, 1974, University of Reading, England.)

[3] The Yakan text of the story of 'Sultan Seytan and Keymango the crab' was published in Studies in Philippine Linguistics, 1978, Vol.2, No.2.

[4] For the full text of the Abunawas story see Appendix A.

[5] This seems the best explanation for this instance of ley, but it is not without its problems. If the narrator is alerting the audience, why does he do so within a direct quote of the woman? Especially since we have no really good reason to suspect that she is aware of the impending problem. Indeed she apparently quite misses the point of what Abunawas is saying. On the other hand, was she simply wary of the trickster on more general grounds, expressing to him her feeling that anything he says to her is, from her point of view, likely to pose a problem.

[6] For the full text of the story of Datu' Kalun see Appendix B.

[7] This kind of usage is well known in Manobo but there it is typical of folktale, not of historical narrative.

[8] For the full text see Appendix C.

[9] An important question which goes well beyong the bounds of this paper is the question as to what controls the limits of each hypothesis. What is it that determines which hypothesis wins in conflicting cases? We view this as an interesting next step and do not attempt to answer that question in this paper.

APPENDIXES

The following are the abbreviations used in the gloss of the interlinear texts:

AFF	unidentified affix	IRR	irrealis
APPROX	approximately	NEG	negative
CAUS	causative	NPC	noun phrase clitic
CERT	certainty particle	P	past time
CIRC	circumstantial	PL	plural
DIR	direction	PLPM	plural person marker
DU	dual(also used for singular, plural inclusive and indefinite)	PM	person marker
		PTL	particle
EX	exclusive	Q	question particle
EXCL	exclamation	RS	reported speech
IMP	imperative	SG	singular
IN	inclusive	SURP	surprise particle

APPENDIX A

Abunawas

Narrator: Mangkabong
Text Analyst: Dietlinde Behrens

1. Pakalehun, Jenet, Linda, bo'ohun si
listen-IMP Janet Linda take-IMP PTL

Merika. 2. Niya' kissaku. 3. Abunawas
America there.is story-my Abunawas

ēnnen.
name-his

4. Tagna'annen niya' dembuwa' lella
beginning-its there.is one man

miskin, ēnnen Abunawas. 5. Manjari Abunawas
poor name-his Abunawas then Abunawas

miya'an, mabaya' iye maghinang, mabaya' iye
that want he work want he

magbadja', mabaya' iye magkellu, bu ga'
plow want he weed but NEG

niya' bisan duhungnen, ga' niya'
there.is even hoe-his NEG there.is

kābewne. 6. Iye tahinangnen maglunsul
carabao-his that CIRC-do-he walk.about

ellew duk sangem, magpiha usaha, bu ga'
day and night search livelihood but NEG

ne pa'in masi niya' usahanne.
now CERT even.so there.is livelihood-his

7. Dembuwa' ellew, mekepikil iye duk tege
one day AFF-think he and have

baya' iye maganda. 8. Pa'in pamikilnen,
desire he take.wife say thinking-his

ingge ente', pa'inne, dende kinabaya'anku inin
which Q say-he female want-I this

Abunawas

1. Listen, Janet and Linda, take this to America. 2. I have a story to tell. 3. It is called Abunawas.

4. Once there was a poor man, his name was Abunawas. 5. This Abunawas really wanted to work, he wanted to plow and to weed but he didn't have any tools, not even a hoe, and he didn't have a carabao. 6. Day and night he just kept walking about, looking for some way of earning a living, but even so he didn't find any. 7. One day he was thinking and he had a desire to get married. 8. He said to himself, 'What sort of a girl would I like and could I be in harmony with? If she doesn't reason and think like I do, I don't want to get married.'

duk mekesulut akuhin. Bang duma'in du
and AFF-please I-NPC   if   not   CERT

pa'inne kuwe' akkalkun   duk bang duma'in
say-he like reasoning-my and if   not

du   kuwe' pamikilkun, ga'i ku mabaya'
CERT like thinking-my NEG I want

maganda.
take.wife

9. Dembuwa' ellew, niya'   dembuwa'
   one   day   there.is one

a'a   bahi' tege anak, hap   pī iye.
person old   have child toward DIR he

10. Mabaya' iye si anakne   miya'an, hātinen
    want   he PTL child-his that   mean-it

pī iye mayam kaw-kaw iye kabaya'an we'
DIR he see   perhaps he like   by

anaknen. 11. Manjari pegtekka   ne la'i,
child-his   then   when-arrive now there

tinestingan we' ne pamikil dendehin, bang
test   by him thinking girl-NPC if

kaw   magtewwa' duk pamikilnen.
perhaps hit.off   with thinking-his

12. Dembuwa' bissā   pa'inne si dendehin,
    one   word/speech say-he PTL girl-NPC

'Ekka pahap sapi'bi   si lame iyan.'
 many good cow-your,PL PTL yard that

13. Sakayi nambung dendehin pa'inne, 'Ingge
    when   answer girl-NPC say-she   which

Abunawas sapi'in?' 14. Pa'inne, 'Ga'
Abunawas cow-NPC   say-he   NEG

takitenu   sapi' niya'-niya'   si
CIRC-see-you,SG cow   there.is-there.is PTL

lame iyan?' 15. Pa'in dendehin, 'Dupang kew
yard that   say   girl-NPC   stupid you,SG

hati' Abunawaseñannu   sapi'in bu manuk
SURP Abunawas call-you,SG cow-NPC but chicken

9. One day he went to a certain older person who had a child. 10. He liked that girl, so he went to see if perhaps the girl might also like him. 11. So when he was there, he tested the thinking of the girl, if perchance their thinking was of the same kind. 12. One thing he said to the girl was, 'You have lots of nice cows in your yard.' 13. The girl answered, 'Where are the cows, Abunawas?' 14. So he said, 'Don't you see those many cows in that yard?' 15. 'Oh you are stupid, Abunawas,' she said, 'you call those cows, but they are chickens!' 16. Abunawas didn't marry that girl. 17. 'That girl is really stupid,' he said, 'she doesn't understand when one speaks.' 18. So he didn't get married.

iyan!' 16. Ga' maganda Abunawas si miya'an.
that NEG take.wife Abunawas PTL that

17. 'Kalna dupang' pa'inne, 'dende iyan, ga'i
truly stupid say-he girl that NEG

makasabut magbissā.' 18. Ga' iye maganda.
AFF-understand speaking NEG he take.wife

19. Dembuwa' ellew lumengngan Abunawas pī
one day walk Abunawas DIR

si tabu'. 20. Pagpī ne si tabu', ga' pe
PTL market when-DIR now PTL market NEG yet

iye umabut si tabu', magsampang iye dembuwa'
he reach PTL market meet he one

a'a bahi' lella duk dembuwa' a'a bahi'
person old man and one person old

dende. 21. A'a bahi' lellahin
woman person old man-NPC

magpanangkit tebbu, a'a bahi'
carry.on.shoulder sugarcane person old

dendehin magbimbit beteng dembuwa'.
woman-NPC carry.in.hand young.coconut one

22. 'Aha,' pa'in Abunawas, 'ka'am hep iyu
aha say Abunawas you,PL CERT that

abu', ka'am hep iyu,' pa'inne, 'apa.'
aunty you CERT that say-he uncle

23. 'Awe',' pa'in a'a bahi' lellahin duk
yes say person old man-NPC and

pa'in a'a bahi' dendehin, 'buyung.'
say person old woman-NPC young.man

24. 'Bakas amban ka'am,' pa'inne. 25. 'Bakas
P from you,PL say-he P

kami,' pa'inne, 'nabu'.' 26. 'Bennal,' pa'in
we,EX say-he market truly say

Abunawas, 'bang makajari,' pa'inne, 'niya'
Abunawas if possible say-he there.is

19. One day Abunawas went to the market. 20. While he was on his way, he hadn't come to the market yet, he met an old man and an old woman. 21. The man carried sugarcane on his shoulder and the woman was carrying a young coconut in her hand. 22. 'Oh, it's you, Aunty and Uncle,' he said. 23. 'Yes, Friend,' said the old man and the woman. 24. 'Where have you been?' he asked. 25. 'We have been to the market.' 26. 'Actually,' said Abunawas, 'if you don't mind I would like to ask you something.' 27. The woman said, 'Why should we mind, Friend. What do you want to say?' 28. 'If it is alright with you, Aunty, I will make a hole in that head of yours, and if you don't want that, I will just shave off the skin of the legs of that old man.' 29. The man and the woman were very afraid and they ran away further inland. Honestly why

bissāku si ka'am.' 27. 'Na we'ey,' pa'in
speak-I PTL you,PL well why say

a'a bahi' dendehin, 'gey makajari' pa'inne,
person old woman-NPC NEG possible say-he

'buyung. Ine ente' bissānu ley,' pa'in
young.man what Q speak-you,SG there say

a'a bahi' dendehin. 28. 'Bang makajari,'
person old woman-NPC if possible

pa'inne, 'abu', tahebanku kōknu
say-he aunty make.hole.in-I head-your,SG

iyan, bang ga'i kew mabaya' tinaheban
that if NEG you,SG want make.hole.in

kōknun, iye bakbasanku lengngennen
head-your,SG that take.off.skin-I leg-his

a'a bahi' lella iyan.' 29. Ana, bu ne pī
person old man that EXCL and now DIR

tinalew a'a bahi' dendehin duk a'a bahi'
afraid person old woman-NPC and person old

lellahin, magubas siye padiyata', kalna bang
man-NPC run they inland truly if

we'ey tineheban kōkden duk binakbasan
why make.hole.in head-their and take.off.skin

lengngenden.
leg-their

would he want to make a hole in their head and shave off the skin of their legs.

30. Manjari bu magubas a'a bahi'in,
so.then and run person old-NPC

ga' niya' tamanan. 31. Arak pettud
NEG there.was stopping almost break

napasden si pamagubasan. 32. Ilupug we'
breath-their PTL running chase by

Abunawas. 33. Pagtekka la'i si luma',
Abunawas when-arrive there PTL house

magaka si anaknen. 34. Tege anak dende
tell PTL child-his have child girl

30. The old people kept running without stopping. 31. They almost died because of their running. 32. Abunawas ran after them. 33. When they arrived home, they told their daughter about it. 34. They had one daughter. They told her, 'Girl, we almost died, we almost had a hole made in our heads and the skin

dembuwa'-buwa', a'a bahi' dendehin duk
one-one person old woman-NPC and

a'a bahi' lellahin, tege anak dende'
person old man-NPC have child girl

pa'inne, 'Dende,' pa'inne, 'arak ne kami
say-he girl say-he almost now we,EX

matey arak tineheban kōk kamihin duk
die almost make.hole.in head our,EX-NPC and

arak binakbasan lengngen kamihin.'
almost take.off.skin leg our,EX-NPC

35. Pa'in anakne budjangin, 'Kabahi'nun,'
say child-his maiden-NPC age-your,SG

pa'inne, 'teggel ne kew si dunya Amma'
say-she long.time now you,SG PTL world father

duk Ina', gey tasabutnu bang
and mother NEG CIRC-understand-you,SG as.to

ine hāti tineheben kōknun. 36. Hātine
what mean make.hole.in head-your,SG mean-it

ley ' pa'inne, 'a'a ley' pa'inne, 'mabaya'
that say-she person that say-she want

nginum beteng, hātinen' pa'inne,
drink young.coconut mean-it say-she

'mabaya',' pa'inne, 'miya'an mangan tebbu.'
want say-she that eat sugarcane

shaved off our legs.' 35. Their daughter, the young girl answered, 'You have been in this world for a long time, Father and Mother, and you still don't understand what it means to make a hole in your head? 36. It means that that person wanted to drink from the young coconut; it means he wanted to eat some sugarcane.'

37. Manjari mikil-mikil Abunawas pa'inne,
then think-think Abunawas say-he

bang kuwe' I', pa'inne, hāp pamikil dende
if like that say-he good thinking girl

iyan. 38. Tege pikilan Abunawas maganda la'i
that have thought Abunawas take.wife there

si dende miya'an. 39. Paghulangkad Abunawas
PTL girl that when-jump Abunawas

mana'ik luma'. 40. A'a bahi' dendehin duk
climb.up house person old woman-NPC and

a'a bahi' lellahin tuli ne, lupayan
person old man-NPC sleep already exhausted

37. So then Abunawas did some thinking, he said, 'If she answers like that, that girl can think well.' 38. Abunawas was thinking of getting married to that girl right there. 39. Immediately Abunawas went up into the house. 40. The old man and the woman were already sleeping; they were exhausted from running. 41. When the girl saw Abunawas, she said to him, 'Ah, it is you!' 42. 'Yes,

siye bakas mamagubasin. 41. Pagtakite we'
they P running-NPC when-CIRC-see by

dendehin, 'Ka'u hep iyu',' pa'inne pu si
girl-NPC you,SG CERT that say-she to PM

Abunawas. 42. 'Aku,' pa'in lellahin, pa'in
Abunawas I say man-NPC say

Abunawas. 43. Sakayi missā dendehin, 'Da'a
Abunawas when speak girl-NPC don't

kew mana'ik,' magtawus mana'ik Abunawas.
you,SG climb.up immediately climb.up Abunawas

44. Pagpana'ik Abunawas pagla'i data'
when-climb.up Abunawas when-there in

luma', 'Da'a kew,' pa'inne 'ningkolo','
house don't you,SG say-she sit.down

ningkolo' Abunawas. 45. Humali-hali pap
sit.down Abunawas rest-rest

Abunawas, magbellat ne dendehin
Abunawas unfold already girl-NPC

pinahali-hali Abunawas, bahasa binellatan
CAUS.rest Abunawas that.is unfold

pabākan, ineddo'an u'an. 46. Pegge' ubus
lying.place fetch pillow when finish

ne magbellat pa'in dendehin, 'Da'a kew,'
now unfold say girl-NPC don't you,SG

pa'inne 'Abunawas pabāk,' paghulangkad
say-she Abunawas lie.down when-jump

Abunawas pabāk.
Abunawas lie.down

it's me,' said Abunawas. 43. When the girl said, 'Don't come up', immediately Abunawas came up. 44. When Abunawas had come up and was inside the house, she said, 'Don't sit down', so Abunawas sat down. 45. Abunawas was resting now and the girl prepared the place for him, that is to say, she spread the mat and got a pillow for him. 46. When she had laid it out, the girl said, 'Don't lie down, Abunawas', and immediately Abunawas lay down.

47. Mikil-mikil Abunawas, bang kuwe' Ī',
think-think Abunawas if like that

pa'inne, dende inin tege pamikil duk dende
say-he girl this have thinking and girl

inin tege akkal. 48. Pegge' tahak ne
this have reasoning when cooked now

47. If it is like this, then that girl can really think and reason well, thought Abunawas. 48. The girl was cooking and when it was done, she placed the food beside him; she had removed

binella dende miya'an binettad ne we' ne
cook girl that place now by her

kinakanin; duk kennahin duk loho'in inānan
food(rice)-NPC and fish-NPC and soup-NPC remove

tolangnen kēmon, isi hadja pamakan
bone-its all meat only feed

Abunawasin. 49. Pegge' na'an ne
Abunawas-NPC because/when there now

binettad we' ne, pa'in dendehin pu si Abunawas,
place by her say girl-NPC to PM Abunawas

'Da'a kew mangan Abunawas.'
don't you,SG eat Abunawas

50. Paghulangkad Abunawas mangan. 51. Ubus
when-jump Abunawas eat finish

mangan Abunawas, binangun ne we' ne
eat Abunawas awaken now by her

sa'inen duk samanen. 52. Pagbangun,
mother-her and father-her when-awaken

'Iyu',' pa'inne 'mangan ne ka'am, Amma'
here say-she eat now you,PL father

Ina', a'ate tu bakas ne pinakan.'
mother person-our,DU here P now fed

53. Ubus mangan a'a bahi'in, a'a bahi'
then eat person old-NPC person old

dendehin duk a'a bahi' lellahin.
woman-NPC and person old man-NPC

54. Paghulangkad Abunawas maganda ellew
when-jump Abunawas take.wife day

miya'an. 55. Pa'inne, 'Kuwe'itu maganda ku
that say-he now take.wife I

si anaknun.' 56. Tineyma' we' a'a bahi'
PTL child-your,SG accept by person old

dendehin duk a'a bahi' lellahin.
woman-NPC and person old man-NPC

57. Manjari, pandak-pandakte hadja, ubus
so.then short-short-we,DU only finish

all the bones from the fish and the soup - she gave Abunawas only the meat to eat. 49. When she had placed it there, the girl said to Abunawas, 'Don't eat, Abunawas!' 50. Immediately he ate. 51. After Abunawas had eaten, the girl awakened her mother and father. 52. 'Come and eat now, Father and Mother,' she said, 'Our guest has already eaten.' 53-54 After the man and the woman had eaten, Abunawas got married that very day. 55. He said, 'Now I am going to marry your daughter.' 56. And he was accepted by the old man and the woman. 57. Now, in order to make it short, they were now married.

ne siye kinawin.
now they married

58. Pegge' ubus ne siye kinawin,
because finish now they married

sigpit pamikil Abunawasin, niya' ne
tight thinking Abunawas-NPC there.is now

andane bu gana'
wife-his but NEG-there.is

pangusahane. 59. Pa'in Abunawas,
means.of.livelihood-his say Abunawas

'Ine ne pamikilnu inin. 60. Ga'
what now thinking-you,SG this NEG

niya' pangusahate bisan
there.is means.of.livelihood-our,DU even

pagbadja'ante ga' niya'.'
thing.for.plowing.with-our,DU NEG there.is

61. 'Kalna, ga' niya' kābewte,' pa'in
truly NEG there.is carabao-our,DU say

andanen. 62. 'Da'a kew,' pa'inne, 'suse
wife-his don't you,SG say-she troubled

bang mabaya' kew,' pa'inne, 'magbadja', ngindam
if want you say-she plow borrow

ku pī si nakura'in.' 63. Niya' nakura'
I DIR PTL leader-NPC there.is leader

diyalem paglahat, tiyap-tiyap nakura'
in place if/when leader

make'atas si anak-apu'ne. 64. 'Na
AFF-provide PTL child-grandparent-his well

bang makajari,' pa'in Abunawas, 'pī kew,'
if possible say Abunawas DIR you,SG

pa'inne, 'indamanun kite duk niya'
say-he borrow-IMP us,DU so.that there.is

pagbadja'ante.'
thing.for.plowing.with-our,DU

58. When they had been married, Abunawas was in a tight spot, he now had a wife but he had no means of earning a living. 59. He said, 'What do you think of this. 60. I have no means of income and don't even have anything to plow with.' 61. 'It is true,' said his wife, 'we don't have a carabao. 62. But don't be sad,' she said, 'if you want to plow, I will go to the leader and borrow a carabao.' 63. There was a leader in that place, and when there is a leader, he has to provide for his people. 64. So Abunawas said, 'Go and borrow from him if it is possible, so that we have something to plow with.'

65. Paghulangkad anda Abunawasin bu pī
when-jump wife Abunawas-NPC and DIR

si nakura'in. 66. 'Hap pitu ku, nakura',
PTL leader-NPC toward to.here I leader

bang makajari si ka'u, Ī' gana'
if possible PTL you,SG there NEG-there.is

pagbadja'an kami, gana'
thing.for.plowing.with we,EX NEG-there.is

ke'elluman kami, bu Ī' niya' labas-labas
livelihood we,EX and there there.is cut.grass

Abunawas. 67. Indamanun ku dahew kābew, bisan
Abunawas lend-IMP me first carabao even

sa' de ellew, duwe ellew, diyata' tellu ellew
CERT one day two day on.top three day

pagbadja'an kami, duk du
thing.for.plowing.with we,EX so.that CERT

niya' ke'elluman kami duk Abunawas.'
there.is living we,EX and Abunawas

68. Pa'in nakura'in, 'Makajari,' pa'inne,
say leader-NPC possible say-he

'dende, indamante kew. 69. Niya',' pa'inne,
woman lend-we,DU you,SG there.is say-he

'sapi'ku babadja'an. 70. Subey,' pa'inne,
cow-my used.to.plowing but say-he

'da'akun ne inipat pu si Abunawas.
tell-IMP now look.after to PM Abunawas

71. Magbahagi' kite bi anak. 72. Bang
share we,IN child if

nganak, duwe tedembuwa' kite, dembuwa'in si
bear.child two CIRC-one we,DU one-NPC PTL

aku dembuwa'in si ka'am.' 73. Bino'o ne we'
me one-NPC PTL you,PL bring now by

ne sapi'in.
her cow-NPC

65. Immediately the wife of Abunawas went to the leader. 66-67 'I have come, Leader, to borrow from you - if possible - a carabao for a short while, even if it is only one day, or two days or three at the most, so we can plow and have a living, we don't have anything to plow with and Abunawas is already cutting grass.'

68. The leader said, 'Yes, woman, that is possible, I will lend one to you. 69. I have a cow there that is used to plowing. 70. But tell Abunawas to keep it for a while and look after it. 71. And we will share its offspring. 72. When it has calves we will share equally, I will get one and you will get the other one.' 73. So she took the cow home.

74. Pagtekka ne la'i si luma',
when-arrive now there PTL house

inakahan ne we' ne Abunawas. 75. Pa'inne,
tell now by her Abunawas say-she

'Abunawas, tiya' ne
Abunawas there now

pagbadja'anten, mekebo'o ku
thing.for.plowing.with-our,DU ABL-bring I

dembuwa' sapi', subey gey ne dina'ak
one cow but NEG now tell

pinapole' dahu', pegge' ga' niya'
CAUS-go.home first because NEG there.is

kābewte ga' niya' sapi'te.
carabao-our,DU NEG there.is cow-our,DU

76. Dina'ak ne ɨnipat si ka'u, dina'ak
tell now look.after PTL you,SG tell

ne pagbadja'an, dina'ak
now thing.for.plowing.with tell

pina'anakan. 77. Bang ko' maka'anak duwe
CAUS-have.child if RS have.child two

tedembuwa' kite bi, dembuwa' si kite, dembuwa'
CIRC-one we,IN one PTL us,DU one

si nakura'in.'
PTL leader-NPC

74. When she came home, she told Abunawas about it. 75. She said, 'Abunawas, now we have something to use for plowing, I have brought a cow along, and he said not to return it immediately, because we have no carabao and no cow. 76. He tells you to look after it and to plow with it and to see to it that it gets offspring. 77. He said, when it bears calves we will share equally, one is for us and one for the leader.

78. Pa'in Abunawas, 'Sa'ingge
say Abunawas how

panganak sapi' iyan, bu kalna iyu',
CAUS-have.child cow that and truly that

lella.' 79. 'Na bisan ne,' pa'in andanen,
male well even so say wife-his

'pegge dina'ak pagbadja'an miya'an
because tell thing.for.plowing.with that

si kite.' 80. 'Na, hāp ne,' pa'in Abunawas,
PTL us,DU well good now say Abunawas

78. Abunawas said, 'How is one to get that cow to have offspring, when it is a male.' 79. 'Never mind now,' said his wife, 'for he has told us to use it for plowing.' 80. 'Alright,' said Abunawas, 'let's do it like that, we will look after it. 81. If that cow has offspring we will share them,

'kajari ne, ipatte ne. 81. Bang
possible now look.after-we,DU now if

nganak sapi' iyan, magbahagi' kite anak,
have.child cow that share we,DU child

bang gey isab nganak ga' we' si iye.'
if NEG also have.child NEG because PTL him

82. Bu ne magbadja'.
and now plow

and if it doesn't, well, it's his fault.' 82. And so he plowed.

83. Ubus magbadja' gey ngatu nganak
finish plow NEG want give.birth

sapi'in, sa'ingge pagganak sapi'in bu
cow-NPC how CAUS-give.birth cow-NPC and

lella, pegge' magagad-ki-magagad, gey ngatu
male because wait-and-wait NEG want

nganak sapi'in. 84. 'A, bennal kew hati'
give.birth cow-NPC ah true you,SG SURP

Abunawas, gey hati' nganak sapi' iyan, iyu'
Abunawas NEG SURP give.birth cow that that

hati' asal lella. 85. Bu gey ngatu
SURP really male and NEG want

nakura'in bang gey kapagbahagi' anak.'
leader-NPC if NEG CIRC-AFF-share child

86. 'Sa'ingge,' pa'in Abunawas, 'pagbahagi'
how say Abunawas AFF-share

anak bu gey nganak sapi'in.' 87. 'Na
child but NEG give.birth cow-NPC well

ambat ne,' pa'in andanen, 'hap pī ku
never.mind now say wife-his toward DIR I

akahanku.'
tell-I

83. After they had plowed the cow was not about to give birth - how could it give birth when it was a male. They waited a long time but the cow did not give birth. 84. 'Ah, you were really right, Abunawas, that cow really doesn't give birth; it is after all a male. 85. But the leader didn't want to lend it, if we wouldn't share the offspring.' 86. 'How does one share offspring when the cow doesn't give birth,' said Abunawas. 87. 'Well, never mind,' said his wife, 'I will go and tell him.'

88. Paghulangkad andanen hap pī si
when-jump wife-his toward DIR PTL

88. Immediately she went to the leader. 89. She said, 'Leader,

nakura'in. 89. Pa'inne, 'Nakura', hap
leader-NPC say-she leader toward

pitu ku si ka'u, subey kew meketuhut
to.here I PTL you,SG must you,SG AFF-come

aku kuwe'itu.' 90. 'We'ey te',' pa'in
me now why Q say

nakura'in, 'ine sabab ley hangkan ku
leader-NPC what about that reason.why me

eddo'nu.' 91. 'Eddo'te kew, sigpit
fetch-you,SG fetch-we,DU you,SG difficult

manamal bang gey kew maketuhut aku.
very if NEG you,SG AFF-follow me

92. I',' pa'inne, 'maganak mato'aku
there say-she give.birth parent.in.law-my

lellahin.' 93. 'O,' pa'in nakura'in, 'we'ey
male-NPC oh say leader-NPC why

kew isab eddo'nu ku kabahi'ku. 94. Aku
you,SG also fetch-you,SG me old-I I

pe nakura' diyalem paglahatin, eddo'nu
still leader in place-NPC fetch-you,SG

ku we' nganak meto'anu lellahin.
me because give.birth parent.in.law male-NPC

95. Lella hey manganakin bu lowa
male the.one.give.birth-NPC and only

manganakin dende, bang lella
the.one.give.birth-NPC woman as.for male

gey,' pa'inne, 'nganak.' 96. 'A, gey hati'
NEG say-he give.birth ah NEG SURP

nganak lellahin,' pa'inne, 'nakura'?'
give.birth male-NPC say-she leader

97. 'A,' pa'inne, 'ga'i.' 98. 'Na, bang ga'i,'
ah say-he NEG well if NEG

pa'inne, 'nganak lellahin, da'a
say-she give.birth male-NPC don't

I have come to you, because you have to come with me right away. 90. 'Why, what is the reason that you fetch me,' said the leader. 91. 'I came to fetch you, because we will be in great difficulty, if you don't come along with me. 92. For my father-in-law is giving birth.' 93. 'Oh,' said the leader, 'why do you fetch me, and I am old. 94. And I am also the leader in this place, and you come to fetch me because your father-in-law is giving birth! 95. Ha, ha, ha, a man is giving birth when it is only women who give birth; as for men, they never give birth.' 96. 'Really, Leader, men don't give birth?' she said. 97. 'Ah... no,' he said. 98. 'Well', she said, 'if men really don't give birth, don't make us keep your cattle. 99. For male cattle don't have calves. 100. We did our very best to care for it,' she said, 'but it didn't give birth because it is a male. 101. If males don't give birth we will not keep that cow of yours any longer.' 102. 'Well,' said the leader, 'never mind then, bring it back, I'll take it back.

pala'ihun sapi'nu ley.
CAUS-be.there-IMP cow-your,SG that

99. Sababnen, gey nganak sapi' lellahin.
reason-its NEG give.birth cow male-NPC

100. Bekkatan hadja kami magipat gey,'
broken only we,EX care.for NEG

pa'inne, 'nganak, pegge' lella. 101. Bang
say-she give.birth because male if

gey nganak lellahin gey ne ipat kami
NEG give.birth male-NPC NEG now care.for we,EX

sapi'nu ley.' 102. 'Na ambat ne,
cow-your,SG there well never.mind now

pituhun ne,' pa'in nakura'in, 'eddo'ku sa'.
to.here-IMP now say leader-NPC fetch-I CERT

103. Kajari ne,' pa'inne, 'da'a ne
possible now say-he don't now

ipatun bi, lella hati'.'
care.for-IMP you,PL male SURP

103. We can do that, you don't have to care for it anymore; just think, it is a male!'

104. Pagtekk si luma', inakahan ne
when-arrive PTL house tell now

we' ne Abunawas. 105. 'Na sa'ingge,' pa'in
by her Abunawas well how say

Abunawas, pa'inne si andanen, 'magtewwa' ne
Abunawas say-he PTL wife-his hit.off now

ka'am duk nakura'in?' 106. Pa'inne, 'Magtewwa'
you,PL and leader-NPC say-she hit.off

ne miya'an. 107. Asal magbennal ne iye
now that really say.it's.true now he

asal gey ko' nganak bang lella.'
really NEG RS give.birth if male

104. When she came home, she told Abunawas about it. 105. 'Well, how did it go,' said Abunawas to his wife, 'did you get it worked out with the leader?' 106. She said, 'It's alright now. 107. He really admitted it and said that males don't give birth.'

108. 'Na, to'o,' pa'in Abunawas. 'Hāp,'
well true say Abunawas good

pa'in Abunawas, 'sinumbali' sapi'ne iyan
say Abunawas butcher cow-his that

108. 'Well that's true, that is good,' said Abunawas, 'let's butcher the cow; we don't have any viand.' 109. 'Oh, don't do

gana' la'ukte.' 109. 'O, da'a ella,'
NEG-there.is viand-our,DU oh don't EXCL

pa'in andanen, 'sa'ingge panumbali'nu
say wife-his how CAUS-butcher-you,SG

iye bu binna'an iyu' alata' a'a.'
it and from.here that possession person

110. 'A,' pa'inne, 'bisan, pinadupang kite we'
ah say-he even fool us,DU by

nakura' iyan, andang du kite miskin,
leader that beforehand CERT us,DU poor

pinadupang kite. 111. Sumbali'ku,' pa'inne.
fool us,DU butcher-I say-he

that,' exclaimed his wife, 'how can you butcher it when it belongs to somebody else?' 110. 'Even so,' said Abunawas, 'We have been fooled by the leader, we were poor and he fooled us. 111. I will butcher it.'

112. Na sinumbali' we' Abunawas sapi'in
well butchered by Abunawas cow-NPC

113. Ubus sinumbali' we' ne, iye hadja
finish butcher by him that only

ineddo'in engkonen. 114. Pagubus sinumbali'
fetch-NPC tail-his when-finish butcher

we' ne, tinanem we' ne engkonen diyalem
by him plant by him tail-its in

badja', si bakas pagbadja'annen.
plowed(land) PTL P place.of.plowing-his

115. Ubus tinanem we' ne, magubas ne pī si
finish plant by him run now DIR PTL

nakura'in. 116. Pa'inne, 'Nakura' hap
leader-NPC say-he leader toward

pitu ku si ka'u suse.' 117. 'Ine ente'
to.here I PTL you,SG trouble what Q

susehin,' pa'in nakura'in. 118. Pa'inne,
trouble-NPC say leader-NPC say-he

'iye mekesusehin, Ī',' pa'inne,
that AFF-trouble-NPC there say-he

'limorok sapi'nun dem lowang, bu gey
happen.to.trip cow-your,SG in hole and NEG

112. So Abunawas butchered the cow. 113-114. When that was finished he just took the tail and planted it in the field that he had just plowed. 115. Then he ran to the leader. 116. He said, 'Leader, I have come to you because I am in trouble.' 117. 'What is your trouble,' said the leader. 118. He answered, 'the trouble is that your cow fell into a hole, and what's more its body can't even be seen any more, only the tail is sticking out. 119. So you, and even more so, your followers should come and help me. Let us all help pulling so we will get it out again. 120. 'It is true,' he said, 'there it is in the hole and only its tail is sticking out.'

ne takite baranne ley, lowa sa' engkone
now CIRC-see body-its there only CERT tail-its

mepeguwa'-guwa'in. 119. Subey amban ka'u,
the.one.stick.out-NPC must from you,SG

labi me' tindegnun, subey ku
more.so PL adherent-your,SG must me

tulungnu, pagtabangte bi mellutan sapi' ley
help-you,SG AFF.help-we,IN pull.out cow there

duk gumuwa' balik. 120. Kalna,' pa'inne,
and come.out again truly say-he

'Ī' diyalem lowang, engkone sa'
there in hole tail-its CERT

mapaguwa'-guwa' ley.'
the.one.stick.out there

121. Aglupug sampay nakura'in duk
run.after including leader-NPC and

me' tindegnen hap pĪ. 122. Pagtekka
PL adherent-his toward DIR when-arrive

siye tala pe, to'o so'osa patikal-tikal ne
they far yet true CAUS-stick.out now

engko sapi'in, barrannen ga' ne na'an. 123. A,
tail cow-NPC body-its NEG now here ah

magtawus missā Abunawas, 'Pasamet ka'am,
immediately speak Abunawas CAUS-fast you,PL

tiya' ne sōng litep.' 124. Dinulapahan ne we'
here now soon sink.in grab now by

Abunawas engko sapi'in, patabang ne
Abunawas tail cow-NPC CAUS-help now

sinduwehin, bino'o we' Abunawas melutan
others-NPC bring by Abunawas pull.out

sapi'in. 125. Paganu iyu' pettud engko
cow-NPC when-something that break tail

sapi'in, na lepas barannen, iye te'eddo'in
cow-NPC well lost body-its that CIRC-get-NPC

121. They all, including the leader and his followers ran there. 122. When they arrived - they were still far off - true enough, the cow's tail was sticking up straight but the body wasn't there. 123. Immediately Abunawas spoke, 'Quickly,' he said, 'it is just about to sink in and disappear.' 124. Abunawas grabbed the cow's tail and he was helped by some of the others he had brought to pull out the cow. 125. And then - the cow's tail tore off, and the body was lost, the only thing they had got was the tail. 126. 'Don't blame me, Leader,' said he, 'your cow's tail tore off,' 127. Abunawas scratched the ground

engkonen. 126. 'Na ga' dapat,' pa'inne,
tail-its well NEG fail say-he

'nakura', pettud engko sapi'nun.' 127. Kinokos
leader broke tail cow-your,SG scratch

we' Abunawas ine mana'anin. 128. Ga'
by Abunawas what the.one.here-NPC NEG

niya'. 129. A, lepas sapi'in, lowa engkone
there.is ah lost cow-NPC only tail-its

matimbulin. 130. Na, ga' niya'
the.one.saved-NPC well NEG there.is

tahinang we' nakura'in, pegge' duma'in isab
CIRC-do by leader-NPC because not also

pagtu'uran Abunawas, Ī' limorok dem
on.purpose Abunawas there happen.to.step in

lowang, lepas sapi' nakura'in.
hole lost cow leader-NPC

to see if there was anything there. 128. There wasn't anything. 129. The cow was lost, only the tail had been saved. 130. The leader couldn't do anything because Abunawas hadn't done it on purpose; the cow just happened to fall through into the hole. So the leader's cow was lost.

131. Mikil-mikil nakura'in. 132. Sakayi
think-think leader-NPC when

tekka si luma' pa'inne, 'Hatu,' pa'inne,
arrive PTL house say-he perhaps say-he

'tapadupang ku we' Abunawas.
CIRC-CAUS-be.fool me by Abunawas

133. We'ey,' pa'inne, 'sapi'ku managha' dem
why say-he cow-my in.the.world in

datag duma'in dem lowang managha' lepas
level not in hole in.the.world lost

ley dem pamadja'anne ley. 134. Bang
there in place.of.plowing-his there if

sa Ī,' pa'inne, 'pinadupang ku hati' we'
like that say-he CAUS-be.fool me SURP by

Abunawas,' pa'in nakura'in.
Abunawas say leader-NPC

131. The leader was thinking. 132. When he arrived home, he said, 'Perhaps Abunawas has fooled me. 133. Why in the world, he said, was my cow on level land and not in a hole? Why in the world was it lost in his plowed field? 134. If it is like that, I have really been fooled by Abunawas.'

135. Manjari paghulangkad nakura' miya'an,
so.then when-jump leader that

135. Immediately the leader commanded his servants to go to

dina'ak we' ne pī me' bata'anne pī pu si
tell by him DIR PL servant-his DIR to PM

Abunawas. 136. Pagtekka la'i si luma'
Abunawas when-arrive there PTL house

Abunawas tinilew Abunawas, bang ine aka
Abunawas ask Abunawas as.to what purpose

me' bata'an sultan miya'an. 137. Pa'inde,
PL servant king that say-they

'Hap pitu kami dina'ak kami we'
toward to.here we,EX tell we,EX by

nakura'in pitu si ka'u iye uldinne
leader-NPC to.here PTL you,SG that order-his

si kamihin, dina'ak,' pa'inne, 'pinasungi'an
PTL us,EX-NPC tell say-he CAUS-defecate

pabākanbin.'
lying.place-your,PL

Abunawas. 136. When they arrived at his house Abunawas asked what their business was. 137. They said, 'We have come here because we have been told by the leader to come here to you and this is what he ordered us to do: he told us to defecate on your bed.'

138. Sakayi nambung Abunawas duk andanen,
when answer Abunawas and wife-his

pa'in andanen, 'Makajari ne ka'am sungi'
say wife-his possible now you,PL defecate

lu'u data' u'anku iyan. 139. Subey da'a
here on.top pillow-my that but don't

hadja ka'am mange'. 140. Bang mange' ka'am,'
only you,PL urinate if urinate you,PL

pa'inne, 'gey makajari, kaw basse' tapokun,
say-she NEG possible perhaps wet mat-my

bang sungi' subey bang mange' gey makajari.'
if defecate but if urinate NEG possible

141. Ga' polsigi pe sungi' me' bata'an gey
NEG proceed yet defecate PL servant NEG

siye bahani sungi', sababnen bang ne kite
they bold defecate reason-its if now we,DU

sungi' mange' ne kite.
defecate urinate now we,DU

138. When Abunawas and his wife answered, his wife said, 'Alright, you can defecate here on my pillow. 139. But just don't urinate. 140. You may not urinate for perhaps my mat would get wet. To defecate is OK but not to urinate.' 141. The servants didn't go ahead and do it because they were afraid to defecate, the reason being, if one defecates one also urinates.

142.	Pagtekka	la'i	magaka	siye	si
	when-arrive	there	tell	they	PTL

nakura'in,	me'	bata'annen.	143.	'Na,
leader-NPC	PL	servant-his		well

sa'ingge,'	pa'in	nakura'in,
how	say	leader-NPC

'tepesungi'anbi	du	pabākan
CIRC-CAUS-defecate.on-you,PL	CERT	lying.place

Abunawasin?'	144.	Pa'inne,	'Ga','	pa'inne,
Abunawas-NPC		say-he	NEG	say-he

'nakura'.'	145.	'We'ey,'	pa'inne,	'ga'
leader		why	say-he	NEG

pasungi'anbi?'	146.	'Dina'ak	kami
CAUS-defecate-you,PL		tell	us,EX

sungi'	subey	gey	kami	dina'ak	mange'.
defecate	but	NEG	us,EX	tell	urinate

147.	Sa'ingge	pesungi'te	bang	gey
	how	CAUS-defecate-we,DU	if	NEG

kite	mange'?'	148.	'A	na,	bennal,'	pa'in
we,DU	urinate		ah	well	true	say

nakura'in,	'bang	kite	sungi'	subey	kite
leader-NPC	if	we,DU	defecate	must	we,DU

mange',	bennal,'	pa'inne,	'pu	Abunawasin.'
urinate	true	say-he	to	Abunawas-NPC

142. When they came back the servants informed the leader. 143. 'How did it go,' said the leader, 'did you defecate on Abunawas' bed?' 144. 'No, Leader,' they said. 145. 'Why didn't you do it?' 146. 'We were told to defecate but not to urinate. 147. How does one defecate if one doesn't urinate?' 148. 'True,' said the leader, 'if one defecates one also has to urinate, Abunawas is right there.'

149.	Manjari	dembuwa'	ellew,	makepikil	ne
	so.then	one	day	AFF-think	now

isab	nakura'in	hap	pī	si	luma'	Abunawas.
also	leader-NPC	toward	DIR	PTL	house	Abunawas

150.	Nganda'ak	ne	isab	si	me'	bata'anne
	tell	now	also	PTL	PL	servant-his

hap	pī	pu	si	Abunawas.	151.	Pagtekka
toward	DIR	to	PM	Abunawas		when-arrive

la'i	tinilew	ne	isab	we'	anda	Abunawasin,
there	ask	now	also	by	wife	Abunawas-NPC

149. One day the leader was thinking again about going to the house of Abunawas. 150. He told his servants to go to Abunawas. 151. When they arrived there, the wife of Abunawas asked what they wanted. 151. The servants said, 'The leader sent us here, because he says he can't rest day and

bang ine akaden. 151. Pa'in me' bata'an
as.to what purpose-their say PL servant

nakura'in, 'Dina'ak kami hap pitu we'
leader-NPC tell we,EX toward to.here by

nakura'in, gey ko' iye humali ellew duk
leader-NPC NEG RS he can.rest day and

sangem, duk gey iye kapatuli ellew duk sangem
night and NEG he CIRC-sleep day and night

lowa ko' magbegeddu goyakin. 152. Dina'ak
always RS make.sound waves-NPC tell

iningketan si ka'u.' 153. Pa'in anda
tie PTL you,SG say wife

Abunawasin, 'Agadun bi ku dayi'-dayi',
Abunawas-NPC wait-IMP you,PL me quickly

niya' dahu' eddo'ku.' 154. Inagadan isab we'
there.is first fetch-I wait also by

me' bata'an nakura'in. 155. Pa'inne, 'Hap
PL servant leader-NPC say-she toward

luma' ne ka'am. 156. Makajari ne,' pa'inne,
house now you,PL possible now say-she

'akabi iyan. 157. Akahanbi nakura'in,
tell-you,PL that tell-you,PL leader-NPC

subey bo'ohanun aku iye inin. 158. Tiya'
must bring/you/him me he this here

niya' umus de ubag, da'akun aku
there.is sand one coconut.shell tell-IMP me

ilubid si nakura'in duk niya'
make.rope PTL leader-NPC so.that there.is

pangingket goyakin.'
thing.for.tying wave-NPC

night, and he isn't able to sleep night or day for he says the waves are always making such a noise. 152. He tells you to tie them down.' 153. Abunawas' wife said, 'Just wait a moment, I'll just go and get something.' 154. So the servants waited. 155. Then she said, 'Go home now. 156. Your request can be done. 157. Tell the leader that you had to bring this to him from me. 158. Here is one coconut shell full of sand, tell the leader from me to make rope out of it so that we have something to tie the waves with.'

159. Pegtekka bata'an nakura'in ley
when-arrive servant leader-NPC there

si luma', pa'in nakura'in, 'Ine,' pa'inne,
PTL house say leader-NPC what say-he

159. When they arrived at the house, the leader said, 'What is it, can Abunawas tie the waves?' 160. The servants said,

'ka'ingketan du we' Abunawas goyakin?'
CIRC-tie CERT by Abunawas wave-NPC

160. Pa'in me' bata'annen, 'Ka'ingketan,'
say PL servant-his CIRC-tie

pa'inne, 'nakura', subey,' pa'inne, 'gey ko'
say-he leader but say-he NEG RS

ka'ingketan duk lubid, gey ka'ingketan duk
CIRC-tie with string NEG CIRC-tie with

basi' subey dina'ak ilubid si ka'u umus
wire but tell make.string PTL you,SG sand

inin duk ko' niya' pa'ingket
this so.that RS there.is thing.for.tying

goyakin. 161. Iye ko' kapa'ingket goyakin
wave-NPC that RS CIRC-CAUS-tie wave-NPC

subey pa'in ilubid. 162. Manjari dina'ak
but CERT make.string so.then tell

ilubid si ka'u umus inin.'
make.string PTL you,SG sand this

163. Magtawus tumondok nakura'in, sa'ingge
immediately look.down leader-NPC how

kamanjarinen umus si ilubid hinang ingket
possible-he sand PTL make.string make tie

goyak. 164. Gey makajari ilubid umusin.
wave NEG possible make.string sand-NPC

165. Ga' dapat nakura'in gey
NEG fail leader-NPC NEG

talubidne umusin, ga'
CIRC-make.string-he sand-NPC NEG

tasongne Abunawas ga' ka'ingketan
CIRC-go.ahead-he Abunawas NEG CIRC-tie

goyakin, gana' pengingket iye. Gey
wave-NPC NEG-there.is thing.for.tying he NEG

telubid we' ne umusin.
CIRC-make.string by him sand-NPC

'Yes, he can tie them, Leader, but he said they couldn't be tied with rope or with wire but he tells you to make this sand into rope, so that he has something to tie the waves with. 161. He says that is the only thing one can tie waves with but it should be made into rope. 162. So he tells you to make rope out of this sand.' 163. The leader looked down (thinking), how would it be possible to make a rope for the waves out of sand. 164. It is not possible to make rope out of sand. 165. The leader couldn't be blamed that he wasn't able to make sand into rope and he couldn't press Abunawas for not tying the waves for he didn't have anything to tie them with. He simply couldn't make sand into rope.

166. Dembuwa' ellew mikil-mikil ne pa'in
one day think-think now CERT

nakura'in, 'Bang sa inin lessa a'a inin
leader-NPC if like this feeling person this

hatu si dembuli bahangi binasa ku we'
perhaps PTL one day persecute me by

ne duk hatu si dembuli bahangi hatu iye
him and perhaps PTL one day perhaps he

tahinang nakura'in, Abunawas inin. 167. Ine
CIRC-make leader-NPC Abunawas this what

ente' pangakkalku iyehin,' pa'inne.
Q AFF-deceive-I him-NPC say-he

168. Manjari dembuwa' akkalne, kinabaya'an
so.then one thinking-his want

we' ne anda Abunawasin. 169. Kalna hangkan
by him wife Abunawas-NPC truly reason.why

kinabaya'an we' ne anda Abunawasin sali'
want by him wife Abunawas-NPC alike

akkal Abunawasin duk andanen.
thought/reason Abunawas-NPC and wife-his

170. Sakayi kinabaya'an we' nakura'in anda
when want by leader-NPC wife

Abunawasin, mabaya' isab anda Abunawasin
Abunawas-NPC want/like also wife Abunawas-NPC

si iye. 171. Mabaya' bang bino'o magbissa,
PTL him like if bring word

mabaya' bang bino'o magmiting-miting.
like if bring meet.together

172. Mala'ingkan, bang diyalem gey
but.on.the.other.hand if inside NEG

du mabaya'.
CERT want

166. One day the leader was thinking, 'If this is how that person feels (about me) perhaps some day he is going to punish/persecute me and perhaps at a later date he is going to be made leader, this Abunawas there. 167. How can I deceive him,' he said. 168. One thing he thought of was that he liked the wife of Abunawas. 169. True, he wanted Abunawas' wife because Abunawas and his wife had the same sort of thinking/reasoning. 170. And as the leader liked Abunawas' wife, so Abunawas' wife also liked him. 171. She liked it when he talked to her, she liked it when they discussed things. 172. But on the other hand deep down she didn't want him.

173. Pegge' tapandoga we' Abunawas
because notice by Abunawas

173. Because Abunawas noticed that the sultan liked his

kinabaya'an andanen we' sultanin, Ī' ne
want wife-his by king-NPC there now

isab magbettad pamikil Abunawas. 174. Pa'in
also place think Abunawas say

Abunawas si andanen, 'Bang makajari, pĪ
Abunawas PTL wife-his if possible DIR

kew,' pa'inne, 'indamanun kite sĪn si
you,SG say-he borrow-IMP us,DU money PTL

nakura'in. 175. Tiya' ku dahu' musey,
leader-NPC here I first paddle

hinangte,' pa'inne, 'kapital sĪnin, duk
make-we,DU say-he capital money-NPC so.that

du niya' usahate.' 176. 'A,
CERT there.is livelihood-our,DU ah

makajari hadja,' pa'in anda Abunawasin,
possible just say wife Abunawas-NPC

'sababnen kuwe'itu nakura' iyan,' pa'inne,
reason-its now leader that say-she

'kuwe'-kuwe' mabaya' si aku, bu aku gey du
like-like want PTL me but I NEG CERT

ku mabaya' si iye. 177. Indamanne ku iyan
I want PTL him lend-he me that

sĪn. 178. Piye hatus,' pa'inne,
money how.many hundred say-she

'kabaya'annun?' 179. Pa'inne, 'Gey ekka, bisan
want-you,SG say-he NEG much even

hadja da hatus, atawa duwe hatus, diyata','
only one hundred or two hundred on.top

pa'inne, 'tellu hatus.'
say-he three hundred

wife, Abunawas also did some thinking. 174. Abunawas said to his wife, 'If it is alright with you, go and borrow us some money from the leader. 175. I am going on a voyage and we will make that money our capital so that we have a means of livelihood.' 176. 'That can easily be done,' said his wife, 'for it seems as if the leader likes me, but I don't like him. 177. He will lend me that money. 178. How many hundred do you want?' 179. He said, 'I don't want much, even if it is only one hundred, or two, or three hundred at the most.'

180. Lumengngan ne anda Abunawasin pi
walk now wife Abunawas-NPC DIR

si nakura'in. 181. Pagtekka la'i, 'Na,
PTL leader-NPC when-arrive there well

180. So the wife of Abunawas went there to the leader. 181. When she arrived there he said, 'Well, woman, what is it that you

ine,' pa'inne, 'dende kabaya'annun, we'ey
what say-he woman want-you,SG why

kew hap pitu?' 182. 'Hap pitu ku
you,SG toward to.here toward to.here I

si ka'u, bang makajari indamanun ku de
PTL you,SG if possible lend-IMP me one

ngibu pilak.' 183. 'Hinangnu ine?'
thousand pesos do-you,SG what

184. 'Tiya',' pa'inne, 'da'akku musey Abunawas
here say-she tell-I paddle Abunawas

hinangne,' pa'inne, 'po'onan duk,' pa'inne,
make-he say-she source so.that say-she

'niya' kapital kami.' 185. 'A,' pa'inne,
there.is capital we,EX ah say-he

'awe' makajari. 186. Indamante kew de
yes possible lend-we,DU you,SG one

ngibu, subey,' pa'inne, 'inin: magjanji'
thousand but say-he this make.agreement

kite bang lumikut Abunawas, hap piyu ku
we,DU when leave Abunawas toward go.there I

pa'in si luma'nu sawe'ante
CERT PTL house-your,SG be.companion-we,DU

kew.' 187. 'Awe',' pa'in andanen.
your,SG yes say wife-his

188. Initungan pilak de ngibu, ubus
count pesos one thousand finish

initung pilakin sinōngan ne pī si anda
count pesos-NPC hand.over now DIR PTL wife

Abunawasin. 189. Hap luma' ne anda
Abunawas-NPC toward house now wife

Abunawasin.
Abunawas-NPC

wish, why have you come here?' 182. 'I have come here to you to see if you could lend me one thousand pesos.' 183. 'What are you going to do with it?' 184. 'I have told Abunawas to go on a voyage and he is going to make that his stock, so that we have a starting capital.' 185. 'Ah, yes,' he said, 'that is possible. 186. I will lend you one thousand but there is this: Let's make this mutual promise that when Abunawas has left, I will go there to your house and be your companion.' 187. 'Yes,' said the woman. 188. One thousand pesos were counted out and then handed over to the wife of Abunawas. 189. She went home.

190. Tekka la'i si luma', 'Sa'ingge,'
arrive there PTL house how

190. When she arrived home, Abunawas asked, 'How is it, did

pa'in Abunawas, 'niya' du sīn?'
say Abunawas there.is CERT money

191. 'Niya'.' 192. 'Piye?' 193. 'De
there.is how.much one

ngibu.' 194. 'Uy, ekka ne pahap.'
thousand EXCL much now EXCL

195. 'Pihun duk ekka kapitalnu.'
go.ahead and much capital-your,SG

196. 'Na, hāp, enna'un ne pilak iyan,
well good store-IMP now money that

magaka kew pī si nakura'in, pa'inun
tell you,SG DIR PTL leader-NPC say-IMP

patulak ne ku.' 197. Balik ne isab anda
CAUS-sail now I return now also wife

Abunawasin, pa'inne, 'Nakura',
Abunawas-NPC say-she leader

alata'nun, ī' ne intirigahanku si
possession-your,SG there now hand.over-I PTL

ellakun Abunawas, subey dina'ak kew
husband-my Abunawas but tell you,SG

inakahan we' Abunawas, bang gana'
inform by Abunawas if NEG-there.is

baya-baya sumu patulak ne iye
danger tomorrow CAUS-sail now he

magusaha.' 198. 'Na hāp. Awe' bang
find.livlihood well good yes if

patulak sumu, bang patulak sumu ellew,
CAUS-sail tomorrow if sail tomorrow day

sumu sangem hap piyu ne ku.'
tomorrow evening toward go.there now I

199. 'A makajari,' pa'in anda Abunawasin.
ah possible say wife Abunawas-NPC

you get any money?' 191. 'Yes, I did.' 192. 'How much?' 193. 'One thousand.' 194. 'Wow, that much!' 195. 'Go ahead, you have a large capital.' 196. 'Well, so far so good, put that money away and go tell the leader that I am going to leave.' 197. So the wife of Abunawas went back again and said, 'Leader, the money from you I have handed over to my husband Abunawas and he told me to inform you that he will go on his voyage tomorrow if nothing bad happens.' 198. 'Well, that is good. Yes, if he leaves tomorrow during daytime, I will come tomorrow night.' 199. 'Alright,' she said.

200. Pagtekka iye magaka la'i pu
when-arrive she tell there to

200. When she arrived she told it to Abunawas. 201. She

Abunawas. 201. Pa'in anda Abunawas, 'Iye pa'in
Abunawas say wife Abunawas that say

nakura'in, bang patulak kew ko' ellew,
leader-NPC when sail you,SG RS day

sangem hap pitu iye si aku.' 202. 'Na
night toward to.here he PTL me well

hāp, nanggup du kew, da'aknu du
good promise CERT you,SG tell-you,SG CERT

hap pitu nakura'in.' 203. 'Nanggup,
toward to.here leader-NPC promise

da'akku ne I' hap pitu bang kew
tell-I now there toward to.here when you,SG

lumikut.'
leave

said, 'The leader said, that if you leave during the day he will come here to me at night.' 202. 'Well, good, promise it to him, tell the leader to come here.' 203. 'I promised already, I told him to come here when you have left.'

204. Lumengnan ne Abunawas ellewin.
go now Abunawas day-NPC

205. Pagsangemin tekka ne nakura'in.
when-evening-NPC arrive now leader-NPC

206. Ine kew inin, ga' hep lumengngan
what you,SG this NEG CERT go

Abunawas. 207. Iye bahannen maghinang kahun
Abunawas that do-he make box

diyalem sabet. 208. Ubus hinang we' ne
in weeds finish make by him

kahunnen, bino'o we' ne magdiyata' luma',
box-his bring by him inside house

binettad si pidjū, pidjū luma'ne.
place PTL corner corner house-his

209. Pagsangem itu' tekka ne nakura'in.
when-evening here arrive now leader-NPC

210. Abunawas ga' ne na'an, patulak ne.
Abunawas NEG now here sail now

211. Mala'ingkan duma'in petulak
but.on.the.other.hand not sail

204. Abunawa went away at daytime. 205. When evening came the leader arrived. 206. What would you know, Abunawas hadn't left. 207. What he did was to make a box outside in the weeds. 208. When he had finished the box he brought it into the house and placed it in the corner of his house. 209. That night, the leader came. 210. Abunawas wasn't there anymore, he had gone on the voyage. 211. But he hadn't really left, he was hiding.

subey patapuk.
but hide

212. Pagtekka nakura'in la'i si
when-arrive leader-NPC there PTL

luma' Abunawas, magmiting-miting ne siye duk
house Abunawas meet.together now they and

anda Abunawasin. 213. I' hep Abunawas
wife Abunawas-NPC there CERT Abunawas

tekka. 214. Pagtabatik we' andanen
arrive when-CIRC-notice by wife-his

pa'inne, 'Nakura', patapuk kew, iyu'
say-she leader hide you,SG that

Abunawas, kol kite papateyne, tiya' kite
Abunawas perhaps us,DU kill-he here we,DU

duwang-duwangan sawe'-sawe'te.' 215. 'Antag ku
two companion-our,DU where I

ente' inin patapuk,' pa'in nakura'in, 'taw
Q this hide say leader-NPC perhaps

kite takasuwa'.' 216. Pa'inne, 'Bang mabaya'
us,DU CIRC-find say-she if want

kew gey takasuwa', pī kew,' pa'inne, 'dem
you,SG NEG CIRC-find DIR you say-she in

kahun miya'an. 217. Bisan,' pa'inne, 'lu'u
box that even say-she here

magine-ine Abunawas lu'u diyalem luma', da'a
do-what-what Abunawas here in house don't

kew kebbutan duk kew ga'i takite.
you,SG move so.that you,SG NEG CIRC-see

218. Bang kew iyan takite bugtu' hadja
if you that CIRC-see certainly just

pinapatey kite we' Abunawas.'
kill us,DU by Abunawas

212. When the leader arrived at Abunawas' house, he and Abunawas' wife talked together. 213. And there was Abunawas suddenly arriving. 214. When his wife saw him she said, 'Leader, hide, there is Abunawas, he may kill us, here we are just the two of us without any companions.' 215. 'Where shall I hide, he may find us,' said the leader. 216. She said, 'If you don't want to be found, hide in that box. 217. Whatever Abunawas does here in the house,' she said, 'don't move so that you won't be seen. 218. If you are seen Abunawas will surely just kill us.'

219. Aha, I' hep nakura'in magubas
aha there CERT leader-NPC run

219. The leader ran fast to hide in the wooden box and lay

pĪ diyalem tu'ung, magdiyalem kahun, Ī'
DIR inside wooden.box inside box there

ne pabāk ley diyalem kahun ley, gey ne
now lie.down there in box there NEG now

bisan magnapas duk gey tabatik we'
even breathe so.that NEG CIRC-notice by

Abunawas.
Abunawas

down there in the box, he didn't even breathe so that Abunawas wouldn't notice him.

220. Pagtekka Abunawas, pagpana'ik
when-arrive Abunawas when-climb.up

Abunawas amban diyawa'in nalus-nalus
Abunawas from below-NPC proceed.immediately

pĪ si kahun ley. 221. Magtawus ilansang
DIR PTL box there immediately nail

we' ne hinaget. 222. A na, ga' ne kebbutan
by him fasten ah well NEG now move

nakura'in, tinalew ko' takite Abunawas.
leader-NPC afraid perhaps CIRC-see Abunawas

220. When Abunawas arrived and had come up from below he went straight to the box. 221. Immediately he nailed it shut. 222. The leader didn't move at all, he was afraid that Abunawas would perhaps see him.

223. La'i ne nakura'in dem kahun gey
there now leader-NPC in box NEG

ne bisan magnapas, ahat-ahat sa napasnen
now even breathe a.little breath-his

duk ga'i kata'uhan we' la'i iye.
so.that NEG know that there he

224. Pagta'abut ellew, iye bahan
when-CIRC-reach day that do

Abunawasin, iye tarabahunen la'i si
Abunawas-NPC that work-his there PTL

luma'ne inatal, pinintaw we' ne kahunin,
house-his paint paint by him box-NPC

ginis-ginis pintaw. 225. Ī' ne mapote'in
all.kinds paint there now white-NPC

pamintaw kahunin, Ī' ne mabiluhin, Ī'
paint box-NPC there now blue-NPC there

223. There the leader was inside the box and not even breathing, that is, he breathed very little so that it wouldn't be known that he was there. 224. Next morning, this is what Abunawas did, he painted the box with all sorts of colors. 225. He used white for the box and blue and green, red, yellow, orange and purple. 226. It was a pretty sight, the box looked like the plumage of a bird, and he put flags on it.

ne gaddung, Ī' ne peyat, Ī' ne
now green there now red there now

binaning, Ī' ne kunit, Ī' ne taluk.
yellow there now orange there now purple

226. A na, pagpayam kahunin mekesinna-sinna
ah well when-look box-NPC CAUS-happy

kuwe' bantuk bulu manuk-manuk kahunin,
like appearance feather bird box-NPC

iban pinanji-panjihan we' ne.
and put.flags.on by him

227. Ubus pinintaw we' ne kahunin, pĪ
finish paint by him box-NPC DIR

si luma' nakura'in. 228. Pagtekka la'i,
PTL house leader-NPC when-arrive there

'Na Abunawas, tekka ne kew amban
well Abunawas arrive now you,SG from

tulakan?' 229. Pa'inne, 'Tekka ne,' pa'inne,
voyage say-he arriv now say-he

'hangkan ku hap pitu. 230. Antag
therefore I toward to.here where

nakura'in?' 231. Pina'in, 'Lu, lumengngan,
leader-NPC say there go

inday bang tungan iyan.' 232. Pa'inne,
don't.know as.to where that say-he

'Bang si' miya'an tu'u, niya',' pa'inne,
if IRR that here there.is say-he

'tabo'oku amban patulakanku, pabellihanku
CIRC-bring-I from voyage-my sell-I

si ka'am. 233. Manuk-manuk ta'u magbissā,
PTL you,PL bird know speak

ta'u,' pa'inne 'missā manuk-manuk ley.
know say-he speak bird that

234. Subey' pa'inne, 'diyalem kahun, gey,'
but say-he in box NEG

227. When he had finished painting the box he went to the house of the leader. 228. When he got there, (he was greeted), 'Well, Abunawas, you have come back already from your trip?' 229. 'Yes, I am back,' he said, 'that's why I come here. 230. Where is the leader?' 231. It was said, 'He has gone out, I don't know where he went.' 232. He said, 'If he were here I could sell something to you that I brought from my trip. 233. It is a bird that can speak. 234. But it is in a box, one can't see it. 235. But if one speaks to it, it will answer.' 236. 'Oh, wonderful,' said the leader's wife, (he had seven wives) 'Abunawas, bring it here, we will buy it even though our husband is not here, we will buy it.' 237.

pa'inne, 'takite. 235. Subey' pa'inne, 'bang
say-he CIRC-see but say-he if

bino'o magbissā, nambung.' 236. 'Alla na,'
bring speech answer EXCL

pa'in anda nakura'in, (pitu' anda nakura'in,)
say wife leader-NPC seven wife leader-NPC

pa'inne, 'Abunawas, bo'ohun hap pitu,
say-she Abunawas bring-IMP toward to.here

belli kami bisan ga' tu'u ella kamihin,
buy we,EX even NEG here husband our,EX-NPC

belli kami.' 237. 'Na,' pa'inne, 'bang magsulut
buy we,EX well say-he if agree

kite bi awe'.' 238. 'Piye,' pa'inne,
we,IN yes how.much say-she

'halga'nen?' 239. Pa'inne, 'Gey ku ta'u
value-its say-he NEG I know

ngahalga'anne, pegge' ga' pe kitebi.
set.value because NEG yet see-you,PL

240. Subey ingge ne bellihun bi bang
but which now buy-IMP you,PL when

takitebi.' 241. Pa'inne, 'Eddo'un,' pa'inne,
CIRC-see-you say-she fetch-IMP say-she

'pī bisan ga' tu'u ella kamihin, belli
DIR even NEG here husband our,EX-NPC buy

kami bang kabaya'an kami.'
we,EX if want we,EX

'Well, if we can agree, yes,' said Abunawas. 238. 'How much is it,' she said. 239. He said, 'I can't tell the value for it, because you haven't seen it yet. 240. You should only buy it after you have seen it.' 241. She said, 'Go and get it, even if our husband isn't here we will buy it if we want it.'

242. Paghulangkad Abunawas magubas hap
when-jump Abunawas run toward

luma'ne, pinanangkit we' ne kahunin,
house-his carry.on.shoulder by him box-NPC

inubasan we' ne pī si luma' nakura'in.
run by him DIR PTL house leader-NPC

243. A na, tala pe siye duk kahunin, kēgan
ah well far yet they and box-NPC happy

242. Abunawas ran immediately to his house, placed the box on his shoulder and ran with it to the house of the leader. 243. He was still far away with the box when all seven wives of the leader became very happy. 244. For the

ne, magkaleg-kaleg ne anda nakura'in
now be.happy now wife leader-NPC

kapitu'-pitu'. 244. Kalna pegge'
seven truly because

mekesinna-sinna kahunin.
AFF-happy box-NPC

245. Pagtekka la'i diyata' luma',
when-arrive there on house

'Allo,' pa'inne, ''Abunawas, piye,' pa'inne,
EXCL say-she Abunawas how.much say-she

'manuk-manuk iyan? 246. Asal bennal te'ed
bird that really true really

manuk-manuk diyalem iyan?' 247. Pa'inne,
bird inside that say-he

'Bennal, bang,' pa'inne, 'da'akku missā iyan,
true if say-he tell-I speak that

missā.' 248. Pa'inne, 'Piye?' 249. 'Bisan
speak say-she how.much even

hadja de ngibu makajari ne, pabellihanku
only one thousand possible now sell-I

de ngibu.' 250. 'Allo, hunit,' pa'in anda
one thousand EXCL expensive say wife

nakura'in. 251. 'Na,' pa'inne, 'bang gey
leader-NPC well say-he if NEG

bellibi de ngibu, bo'oku hap luma'.'
buy-you,PL one thousand bring-I toward house

252. Nambung ne hep nakura'in amban diyalem
answer now CERT leader-NPC from inside

kahun, 'Bellihun ne ku, bellihun ne ku.'
box buy-IMP now me buy-IMP now me

253. 'A na, ga' kitenu iyan?' pa'in
ah well NEG see-you,SG that say

Abunawas, 'mekebelli ne si ka'am. 254. Pasōng
Abunawas AFF-buy now PTL you,PL more

box was really very pretty.

245. When he was up in the house, she said, 'How much is that bird? 246. Is it really true that there is a bird inside?' 247. He said, 'It is true, if I tell him to speak he will speak.' 248. She said, 'How much?' 249. 'Even if it is only one thousand I will do it, yes I will sell it for one thousand.' 250. 'Goodness, that's expensive!' said the leader's wife. 251. 'Well, if you don't buy it for one thousand I will take it home,' he said. 252. Then the leader answered from inside the box, 'Buy me, buy me.' 253. 'Did you hear that?' said Abunawas, 'he wants you to buy him. 254. It will talk even more when you have it here at your house. 255. But now,' he said, 'one thousand pesos isn't enough, I won't accept that. If you pay two thousand I will sell it.' 256. 'Now, it was already expensive if we bought it for one thousand.'

pe iyan bissāhanne bang lu'u ne si ka'am.
yet that speak-it when here now PTL you,PL

255. Subey kuwe'itu,' pa'inne, 'bang de
but now say-he if one

ngibu pilak du gey eddo'ku, subey,'
thousand pesos CERT NEG take-I but

pa'inne, 'bang bayedanbi duwe ngibu pabelli
say-he if pay-you,PL two thousand sell

ku.' 256. 'A na hunit ne belli
I ah well expensive already buy

kami de ngibu.' 257. 'A ga'i ku,' pa'in
we,EX one thousand ah NEG I say

Abunawas, 'subey bang eddo'bi duwe ngibu
Abunawas but if take-you,PL two thousand

eddo'ku, eddo'ku ne si ka'am.' 258. Pa'in
take-I take-I now PTL you,PL say

anda nakura'in, 'De ngibu ne hadja,
wife leader-NPC one thousand now only

Abunawas.' 259. 'A, ga'i ku bang de ngibu,
Abunawas ah NEG I if one thousand

subey duwe ngibu.' 260. 'Na gey takole'
must two thousand well NEG able

kami, ga' tu'u ella kamihin.'
we,EX NEG here husband our,EX-NPC

257. 'No,' said Abunawas, 'if you get it - two thousand I will accept.' 258. The leader's wife said, 'One thousand only, Abunawas.' 259. 'No, not for one thousand, it should be two thousand.' 260. 'We don't have that much, our husband isn't here.'

261. 'Na bo'oku hap luma'.'
well bring-I toward house

262. 'Na ga' dapat kami, bang duwe ngibu,
well NEG blame us,EX if two thousand

subey bang de ngibu belli kami.'
but if one thousand buy we,EX

263. 'Bellihun ku, bellihun ku,' pa'in
buy-IMP me buy-IMP me say

manuk-manukin. 264. 'Ekka,' pa'inne, 'pilak,
bird-NPC many say-he pesos

261. 'Then I will take it back home.' 262. 'Well, don't blame us when it is two thousand; if it were one thousand we would buy it.' 263. 'Buy me, buy me,' said the bird. 264. 'There is lots of money there in the wooden chest, get it.' 265. 'Well, did you see that? 266. The bird says that

eddo'un, iyu' lu'u dem ba'ul.' 265. 'Na ga'
get-IMP that here in chest well NEG

kitebi iyan? 266. Ekka ko' pilak, pa'in
see-you,PL that many RS pesos say

manuk-manukin I' ko' dem ba'ul, bellihun
bird-NPC there RS in chest buy-IMP

bi ne. 267. Subey kuwe'itu gey eddo'ku bang
you,PL now but now NEG take-I if

duwe ngibu, subey bang ngatu ka'am subey
two thousand must if want you,PL must

bellibi tellu ngibu, bang duwe ngibu
buy-you,PL three thousand if two thousand

sa' gey ne eddo'ku. 268. Sababnen, pegge'
CERT NEG now take-I reason-its because

iyu' ne missā-missā manuk-manuk iyan.'
that now speak bird that

269. 'Bellihun bi ku bisan tellu ngibu.'
buy-IMP you,PL me even three thousand

270. 'Na ga' kitebi iyan, mekebelli ne,'
well NEG see-you,PL that AFF-buy now

pa'inne, 'bisan tellu ngibu mekebelli ne.'
say-he even three thousand AFF-buy now

271. Na, manjari inin tabelli we' anda
well so.then this CIRC-buy by wife

nakura'in tellu ngibu. 272. Mageddo' ne
leader-NPC three thousand take now

siye si tellu ngibu. 273. Ta'amban ne
they PTL three thousand leave.behind now

nakura'in la'i si me' andanen. 274. Subey
leader-NPC there PTL PL wife-his but

tabayedan tellu ngibu. 275. Paglumikut
CIRC-pay three thousand when-leave

Abunawas, iluka ne we' me' andane.
Abunawas open now by PL wife-his

there is lots of money in the chest, buy it now. 267. But now I won't accept it if it is only two thousand. Now, if you want it, you will have to buy it for three thousand, two thousand pesos I won't accept any longer. 268. For now the bird is speaking already.' 269. 'Buy me even for three thousand.' 270. 'Well, did you see that? Even for three thousand he wants you to buy him.'

271. Finally the leader's wife bought it for three thousand. 272. They fetched the three thousand. 273. The leader was left there with his wives. 274. But the three thousand had been paid. 275. When Abunawas had left, the leader's wives opened the box. 276. They were very happy about that bird because it could talk. 277. When they had opened the

276. Magkaleg-kaleg ne me' andanen, we'
be.happy now PL wife-his because.of

manuk-manuk miya'an, pegge' ta'u missā.
bird that because know speak

277. Pagluka-luka we' de kahunin,
when-open by them box-NPC

pagpayamde, nakura'in elladen hati'
when-look-they leader-NPC husband-their SURP

mala'i diyalem kahunin. 278. Manjari
the.one.there in box-NPC so.then

inin, 'Aba aba,' pa'in me' andanen, 'tiya'
this EXCL EXCL say PL wife-his here

hep hati' ellaten pinabellihan Abunawas
CERT SURP husband-our,DU sold Abunawas

si kitehin.'
PTL us,DU-NPC

box and looked, to their surprise they found their husband, the leader, inside. 278. 'Oh no,' said his wives, 'Abunawas has really sold us our husband!

279. 'Hadje ne pahap,' pa'inne,
big now EXCL say-she

'pekepedupangan Abunawas si kite.'
AFF-fool Abunawas PTL us,DU

279. 'Has Abunawas ever fooled us!' they said.

280. Lowal teppet petondok nakura'in
always exactly look.down leader-NPC

na'an diyalem kahunin. 281. Ga' ne
here inside box-NPC NEG now

maka'ara'-ara' paluwas amban diyalem kahun.
AFF-think come.out from inside box

282. Kalna iya' pu Abunawas, labi-labi bang
truly ashamed to Abunawas more.so if

andane pitu'in. 283. Dembuwa' iye nakura'
wife-his seven-NPC one he leader

si diyalem paglahat, dayahan, ge'esan, ekka
PTL in place rich strong many

280. The leader was just sitting there in the box looking down in front of him. 281. He couldn't even think of coming out of the box. 282. He was ashamed towards Abunawas and even more so before his seven wives. 283. He was the only leader in that place; he was rich and strong and had many followers. 284. Why had he been fooled by a poor person.

tindegne. 284. We'ey iye tapadupang
follower-his why he CIRC-CAUS-be.fool

we' dembuwa' a'a miskin.
by one person poor

285. Paghulangkad ne ngalingan me'
when-jump now call PL

tindegnen. 286. Tekka me' tindegnen
follower-his arrive PL follower-his

pa'inne, 'Linganante ka'am,' pa'inne, 'pī
say-he call-we,DU you,PL say-he DIR

ka'am,' pa'inne, 'da'akun bi aku tahala'
you say-he tell-IMP you,PL me leave

Abunawas. 287. Da'a iye da'akun tu'u si lahat
Abunawas not he tell-IMP here PTL place

inin. 288. Kalna bang sa inin pamikil
this truly if like this thinking

Abunawas ujud papateyne ku bang
Abunawas finally kill-he me if

pinabellihanin,' pa'inne, 'bakas ne ku
sell-NPC say-he P now me

pabellihanne, subey,' pa'inne, 'ko ku
sell-he but say-he perhaps me

papateyne. 289. Da'akun aku tahala'
kill-he tell-IMP me leave

du'un-du'un. 290. Bang gey iye tahala'
immediately if NEG he leave

bono'un bi aku.'
kill-IMP,PL you me

291. Hap pī ne me' dara'akan
toward DIR now PL servant

nakura'in ampatpū' duk ampat ekkanen
leader-NPC forty and four many-its

magalmas kēmon. 292. Pagtekka la'i, 'Aha,'
carry.arms all when-arrive there aha

pa'in Abunawas, 'we'ey te,' pa'inne
say Abunawas why Q say-he

285. Immediately he called his followers. 286. When they arrived he said, 'I called you in order to send you to Abunawas to tell him from me to leave. 287. Tell him not to stay in this place anymore. 288. Surely, if Abunawas thinks like this, in the end he will kill me, if he is selling me already. He has sold me already but perhaps he is going to kill me. 289. Tell him from me to leave immediately. 290. If he doesn't leave, kill him for me.'

291. So the leader's servants went there, forty-four of them, all carrying arms. 292. When they arrived there Abunawas said, 'Aha, why are you creeping up like that startling people, what do you want here?' 293. They said,

'anay-anaybi	sa	iyu'	mekekeddut-keddut,
creep.up-you,PL	like	that	AFF-startle

ine	te	akabi	lu?'	293.	Pa'inne,
what	Q	purpose-your,PL	here		say-he

'Abunawas,	dina'ak	kami	hap	pitu	we'
Abunawas	tell	us,EX	toward	to.here	by

nakura'in	dina'ak	ko'	ka'am	tahala'	amban
leader-NPC	tell	RS	you,PL	leave	from

lahat	inin,	bang	gey	ko'	ka'am	tahala',
place	this	if	NEG	RS	you,PL	leave

bugtu'	hadja	dina'ak	kew	binono'	si
certainly	only	tell	you,SG	kill	PTL

kami.'	294.	'Oy,	ine	te','	pa'inne,
us,EX		EXCL	what	Q	say-he

'kabunsihan	nakura'	si	kamihin,	bu
hatred	leader	PTL	us,EX-NPC	and

gana'	duse	kami	si	iye.	295.	Na
NEG-there.is	fault	our,EX	PTL	him		well

akahanun	nakura'in,	da'a	kami	binasane,
tell-IMP	leader-NPC	don't	us,EX	persecute-he

subey	magmemes	kami	dahu'.	296.	Memes	kami
but	get.ready	we,EX	first		ready	we,EX

dahu'	me'	panyap	kamihin,	miya'an	bu	de
first	PL	possessions	our,EX-NPC	that	and	

kami	tahala'.	297.	Ga'i	kami	makasagga'	si
we,EX	leave		NEG	we,EX	AFF-oppose	PTL

iye,	kalna	iye	nakura'in.	298.	Subey	iye	me'
him	truly	he	leader-NPC		but	that	PL

kahunitin	bang	kami	tahala'	si	lahat
difficulty-NPC	if	we,EX	leave	PTL	place

danglahat,	gana'	katekkahan	kami
one-place	NEG-there.is	arrival	we,EX

marasahi	kami.	299.	Subey	luma'	kamihin,
to.be.pitied	we,EX		must	house	our,EX-NPC

da'a	iye	ngamā-ngamā,	asal	bo'o	kami.'
don't	he	angry	really	bring	we,EX

'Abunawas, the leader sends us here, he says you have to leave this place, if you don't leave he says we are to simply kill you both.' 294. He said, 'Oy, what does the leader hate us for when we haven't done him any harm. 295. Well, tell the leader he shouldn't punish us, for we have to prepare first. 296. We will get our things ready first and then we will leave. 297. We are not opposing him, surely he is the leader. 298. But the difficulty is if we leave for just somewhere where there is nothing prepared for us, it will be very hard for us. 299. He must not be angry but we really have to take our house along.'

300. Paglumikut me' bata'an nakura'in,
when-leave PL servant leader-NPC

binanugan we' ne luma'in paliput,
put.sails.on by him house-NPC surrounding

binettaran banug ka'ampat pidjū, asal
placed sail four corner really

bo'one, bahasa patulak ne iye, tulak
bring-he that.is.to.say sail now he sail

tungan-tungan iye bo'one luma'nen, subey
wherever he bring-he house-his must

luma'nen du pagbewutuhannen, pegge'
house-his CERT thing.used.as.boat-his because

gana' kappalne gana'
NEG-there.is big.ship-his NEG-there.is

bewutune gana'
outrigger.canoe-his NEG-there.is

kulentonne, subey luma'nen iye
smaller.coastal.vessel-his must house-his that

bino'onen. 301. Na pagtekka la'i si
bring-he well when-arrive there PTL

luma' nakura'in, 'Na sa'ingge,' pa'inne,
house leader-NPC well how say-he

'bissā Abunawasin.' 302. Pa'inne, 'Gey kew
speak Abunawas-NPC say-he NEG you,SG

dina'ak suse bu ne siye tahala' ne, subey
tell troubled and now they leave now but

tahala' siye subey ko' tabo'one
leave they must RS CIRC-bring-he

luma'den kalna kol ko' bang niya'
house-their truly perhaps RS when there.is

patahala'ande, lahat atag-atag gana'
CAUS-leave-they place wherever NEG-there.is

luma'de marasahi siye.' 303. 'Na, hāp
house-their to.be.pitied they well good

the house, he put the sails on the four corners, he was really going to take it along, that is to say, when he would leave, wherever he would go, he would take his house along, his house must serve as a boat, for he had no ship or canoe or medium sized vessel, so he must take his house. 301. When the servants arrived at the leader's house, he said, 'Well, what did Abunawas say.' 302. The servant answered, 'You shouldn't be worried, they are going to leave, but when they leave, he must take their house along, for he says, if they are driven out now, whatever place they come to, they perhaps won't have a house and it would be very hard for them.' 303. 'Well, alright,' said the leader, 'but in three days from now, you go and see if Abunawas is still there or if he has left.'

ne,' pa'in nakura'in, 'subey tellum bahangi
now say leader-NPC but three day

binna'an payamanun bi Abunawas, la'i du
from.now look-IMP you,PL Abunawas there CERT

ke atawa patulak ne.'
Q or sailed now

304. Ta'abut tellum bahangi, binisita
CIRC-reach three day visit

ne isab pī, pinayaman. 305. Pagtekka la'i
now also DIR look when-arrive there

gey ne takite luma' Abunawasin we'
NEG now CIRC-see house Abunawas-NPC because.of

panji, pinanji-panjihan luma' Abunawasin.
flag put.flags.on house Abunawas-NPC

306. Tinilew we' me' bata'an nakura'in bang
ask by PL servant leader-NPC as.to

ine hāti miya'an. 307. Pa'inne, 'Banug,
what mean that say-he sail

subey,' pa'inne, 'iye gey katumahala'an
but say-he that NEG CIRC-leave

kamihin, 308. gey,' pa'inne, 'ngatu nihup
we,EX-NPC NEG say-he want blow

baliyuhin. 309. Gey pa'in usa' luma' tu, bu
wind-NPC NEG CERT move house here and

gey,' pa'inne, 'makajari bang ta'amban
NEG say-he possible if CIRC-leave.behind

kami, gana' pagluma'an kami,
we,EX NEG-there.is thing.used.as.house our,EX

marasahi kami. 310. Bang nihup baliyu iyan,
to.be.pitied we,EX if blow wind that

tumahala' hadja kami. 311. Akahanun nakura'in,
leave only we,EX tell-IMP leader-NPC

bang gey nihup baliyuhin gey kami tumahala'.
if NEG blow wind-NPC NEG we,EX leave

304. After three days they went there and looked. 305. When they got there, the house of Abunawas couldn't even be seen anymore because of the flags, the house had flags everywhere. 306. The servants asked what the meaning of that was. 307-308. He said, 'Sails, but the reason why we haven't been able to leave yet is - the wind just doesn't blow. 309. This house won't move, but we can't leave it behind, if we don't have a house, it will be very hard for us. 310. If that wind blows we are going to leave right away. 311. Tell the leader, if the wind doesn't blow we can't leave. 312. For the house doesn't move.'

312. Sababnen,' pa'inne, 'gey usa' luma'in.'
reason-its say-he NEG move house-NPC

313. Balik ne isab bata'an nakura'in
return now also servant leader-NPC

pĪ si iye. 314. Pegtekka la'i, 'Na,
DIR PTL him when-arrive there well

sa'ingge? Ine helling Abunawas? T' pe
how what sound Abunawas there yet

atawa ga' ne?' 315. 'T' pe,' pa'inne,
or NEG now there yet say-he

'nakura'. 316. Bu ne,' pa'inne, 'luma'ne
leader and say-he house-his

ley gey ne takite we' panji.
there NEG now CIRC-see because.of flag

317. Pinanji-panjihan luma'nen, dina'akkun
put.on.flags house-his tell-me

inakahan. 318. Bu ne siye ley patulak ne
tell and now they there sail now

subey gey kata'uhan bang sangem ke bang ellew
but NEG know if evening Q if day

patulakden, ngagad-ngagad baliyu, bang
sailing-their wait-wait wind if

niya' ne baliyu tumahala' ne siye ley.
there.is now wind leave now they there

319. Kalna, na panyap ne banugden.'
truly well prepared now sail-their

313. So the servants went back to the leader. 314. 'Well, how is it? What did Abunawas say? Is he still there or not?' 315. 'He is still there, Leader,' they said. 316. 'But his house can't be seen anymore for the flags. 317. He has put flags all over his house, I am told to inform you. 318. And they would have left already but they don't know if they will leave at night or in the daytime. They are waiting for wind; when there is wind they will leave. 319. Truly, their sails are all ready.'

320. 'A dupang hati' Abunawas inin,
ah stupid/bad SURP Abunawas this

asal padupang ne ku hati'. 321. PĪ ka'am,
really fool now me SURP DIR you,PL

bono'un bi. 322. Tangguhun bi
kill-IMP you,PL give.respite-IMP you,PL

hadja tellum bahangi, e'? 323. PĪ ka'am,
only three days OK DIR you,PL

320. 'This Abunawas is really wicked, he has fooled me again. 321. Go and kill him. 322. Give him just three days of respite, OK? 323. Go and tell Abunawas if they haven't left by the third day, he will certainly be killed. 324. I will really

akahanun bi Abunawas bang gey si' tahala'
tell-IMP you,PL Abunawas if NEG IRR leave

tellum bahanginen, binono' ne Abunawas
three day-its kill now Abunawas

pinapatey ne. 324. Papateyku ne te'ed ga' ne
kill now kill-I now really NEG now

niya' patanggu-tanggu.'
there.is CAUS-respite

kill him, and there will be no respite.'

325. Balik ne isab bata'an nakura'in,
return now also servant leader-NPC

'Na, we'ey ka'am mabalikin, ine,'
well why you,PL the.ones.come.back-NPC what

pa'inne, 'panganda'akan nakura' ka'amin?'
say-he tell leader you,PL-NPC

326. Pa'inne, 'Dina'ak kami hap pitu
say-he tell us,EX toward to.here

dina'ak kew te'ed tahala' du'un-du'un,
tell you,SG really leave immediately

tinanggu kew tellum bahangi binna'an,
give.respite you,SG three days from.now

bang gey kew tahala' da'a kew
if NEG you,SG leave don't you,SG

muggut-muggut, tellum bahangi binna'an
complain three days from.now

pinapatey kew.' 327. 'A, makajari,' pa'in
kill you,SG ah possible say

Abunawas. 328. 'Bang ga'i ku tumahala' makajari
Abunawas if NEG I leave possible

papateyne. 329. Subey,' pa'inne, 'akahanun
kill-he but say-he tell-IMP

hadja iye bang gana' baliyu ellet
only him if NEG-there.is wind between

tellum bahangi miya'an, na gey be ku inin
three days that well NEG CERT I this

325. The servants went back again, and Abunawas said, 'Why do you come back, what did the leader command you?' 326. They said, 'He told us to come here and tell you to really leave immediately, you are given a respite of three days from now. If you haven't left then, don't complain - in three days you will be killed.' 327. 'Alright,' said Abunawas. 328. 'If I haven't left in three days he may kill me. 329. But just tell him, if there isn't any wind in these three days I cannot leave, for this house here can't run.'

tumahala', sababnen gey magubas luma'ku
leave reason-its NEG run house-my

inin.'
this

330. Na, inakahan ne isab nakura'in.
well tell now also leader-NPC

331. 'Pāmun iyan,' pa'in nakura'in,
look-IMP that say leader-NPC

'kadupangan Abunawas iyan. 332. Ine akane
fooling Abunawas that what tell-he

magubas luma'in bu Ī' kinalihan olomnen,
run house-NPC and there holed.in posts-its

Ī' diyalem bulak. 333. Subey,' pa'inne,
there in earth but say-he

'ambat ne ta'abut tellum bahangi
never.mind now CIRC-reach three day

amey-amey te'ed uldinku si ka'am
warn really order-I PTL you,PL

gana' meketuntut, bono'un bi
NEG-there.is AFF-blame/accuse kill-IMP you,PL

aku, Abunawas duk andanen.'
me Abunawas and wife-his

330. They told the leader. 331. 'Look at that,' said the leader, 'Abunawas has really become a fool. 332. What does he say about the house running? And what's more the house posts are in holes there in the ground. 333. But never mind, when the third day comes I really warn you I will order you to kill Abunawas and his wife for me, and nobody can accuse me.'

334. Ta'abut tellum bahangi, iye ne
CIRC-reach three day that now

Ī' ellew pamono' Abunawasin, pa'in
there day AFF-kill Abunawas-NPC say

andanen, 'Sa'ingge pamikilnun, Abunawas,
wife-his how thinking-your.SG Abunawas

ellew inin pinapatey ne kite.' 335. Pa'in
day this kill now us,DU say

Abunawas, 'Iye taman ta'akkalkun duk iye
Abunawas that end CIRC-deceive-I and that

taman tapikilkun,' pa'in Abunawas.
end CIRC-think-I say Abunawas

334. When the third day came, that was the day when Abunawas was going to be killed, his wife said, 'What are you thinking, Abunawas, today we are going to be killed.' 335. Abunawas said, 'I can't think of anything more to deceive him. 336. Since I am going to be killed today, go and buy white cloth for a shroud for me.' 337. His wife didn't say much and she bought

336. 'Pegge' pinapatey ku ellew inin, pī
because kill me day this DIR

kew melli kakana' duk niya'
you,SG buy white.cloth so.that there.is

panaput aku.' 337. Ga' magbissā ekka anda
AFF-shroud we NEG speak much wife

Abunawasin, melli kakana' iye, kakana'
Abunawas-NPC buy white.cloth she cloth

pote' iyan sempū' duk lime metro. 338. Asal
white that ten and five meters really

ganta' pamutus a'a mamateyin.
enough AFF-wrap person dead

fifteen meters of white cloth. 338. That is enough to wrap a body.

339. Pagtekka iye amban tabu'an
when-arrive she from market

mekebo'o ne iye kakana' sempū' duk lime
AFF-bring now she cloth ten and five

metro, missā ne anda Abunawasin, 'Ine,'
meter speak now wife Abunawas-NPC what

pa'inne, 'pamikilnun,' pa'inne, 'Abunawas?'
say-she thinking-your,SG say-she Abunawas

340. 'Kalna kuwe'itu ne,' pa'inne, 'pamono'
truly now already say-he AFF-kill

kitehin. 341. Ga' niya' ta'akkalku,'
we,DU-NPC NEG there.is CIRC-deceive-I

pa'in Abunawas, 'hangkan ne kew da'akku
say Abunawas therefore now you,SG tell-I

magpanyap, magbelli kakana' sempū' duk lime
get.ready buy cloth ten and five

metro. 342. Sempū' duk lime metro iyan,
meter ten and five meter that

pastante ne pamutus kite duwangan.'
enough now AFF-wrap us,DU two

339. When she came back from the market she brought the fifteen meters of white cloth and then she said, 'What are you thinking, Abunawas?' 340. 'Truly now we will be killed. 341. I don't have anything to deceive him with, that's the reason why I sent you to prepare for death, to buy the fifteen meters of white cloth. 342. Those fifteen meters should be enough to shroud both of us.'

343. 'Hāp ne,' pa'in anda Abunawasin,
good now say wife Abunawas-NPC

343. 'It would be good now, if you would do what I say, I have

'bang nuhut kew isab si pamikilku,
if follow you,SG also PTL thinking-my

niya' isab pamikilku ahat-ahat.'
there.is also thinking-my a.little

344. 'Na, na sa'ingge?' pa'in Abunawas.
well well how say Abunawas

345. Pa'inne, 'Pabāk kew,' pa'inne,
say-she lie.down you,SG say-she

'pakiblat kew, lokabante
CAUS-head.pointing.north you shroud-we,DU

kew duk kakana' pote' inin. 346. Da'a
you,SG with cloth white this don't

kew pa'in,' pa'inne, 'usa' bang gey du
you,SG CERT say-she move if NEG CERT

kew da'akku usa'. 347. Tiya' ku,' pa'inne,
you,SG tell-I move here I say-she

'ngeddo' pakil, da'akte kew inadji'an.'
fetch pakil tell-we,DU you,SG read.for

348. 'Na, awe',' pa'in Abunawas, 'makajari.'
well yes say Abunawas possible

a few thoughts,' said Abunawas' wife. 344. 'What is it?' asked Abunawas. 345. She answered, 'Lie down with your head pointing north and I will shroud you with this white cloth. 346. Don't move at all if I don't tell you to. 347. I am going now to fetch people to read for you from the Koran.' 348. 'Yes,' said Abunawas, 'Let's do that.'

349. Paghulangkad Abunawas bu pabāk
when-jump Abunawas and lie.down

kinukuban ne isab we' anda Abunawasin duk
shroud now also by wife Abunawas with

kakana' pote'in duk ngeddo' ne isab iye
cloth white-NPC and fetch now also she

pakil dina'ak magadji'. 350. Dina'ak
pakil tell read.from.Koran tell

inadji'an Abunawas, kalna we' matey ne
read.for Abunawas truly because die now

Abunawas. 351. I' ne isab me' pakilin,
Abunawas there now also PL pakil-NPC

inadji'an Abunawas. 352. Magadji' lella
read.for Abunawas read.from.Koran men

349. Immediately Abunawas lay down and his wife shrouded him in the white cloth and went to tell the people to come and read from the Koran. 350. They were told to read for Abunawas because he had died. 351. And there the people were now reading for Abunawas. 352. Men and women were sitting there around Abunawas reading.

duk dende magliput na'an pu si Abunawas.
and women surround here to PM Abunawas

353. Papuwa' anda Abunawasin pī si
meanwhile wife Abunawas DIR PTL

nakura'in. 354. Magtangis tekka la'i si
leader-NPC weep arrive there PTL

nakura'in. 355. 'We'ey kew
leader-NPC why you,SG

magtangisin,' pa'in nakura'in.
the.one.weeping-NPC say leader-NPC

356. Pa'inne, 'Hap pitu ku si ka'u,
say-she toward to.here I PTL you,SG

nakura', pegge' ka'u du nakura' diyalem
leader because you,SG CERT leader in

paglahat inin. 357. Abunawas ta'abut ne
place this Abunawas CIRC-reach now

janji' si iyehin. 358. I' ne matey.
covenant PTL him-NPC there now die

359. Manjari hangkan ku hap pitu si
so.then reason.why I toward to.here PTL

ka'u, ka'issa' subey kew nabang alata',
you,SG firstly must you,SG help wealth

kaduwenen subey kew meketuhut aku,
secondly-its must you,SG AFF-follow I

pegge' Abunawas, ekka dusene si ka'u
because Abunawas many fault-his PTL you,SG

subey ampunnu, sarun bang si
must forgive-you,SG of.course if PTL

ke'ellumne, gey da'akku inampun si ka'u.
life-his NEG tell-I forgive PTL you,SG

360. Subey pegge' I' ne si kamateyne,
but because there now PTL death-his

bang ngatu kew subey ampunnu.'
if want you,SG must forgive-you,SG

353. In the meantime Abunawas' wife went to the leader. 354. She was weeping when she came to the leader. 355. 'Why are you crying,' said the leader. 356. She said, 'I have come to you, Leader, because you are the leader here in this place. 357. Abunawas' end has come. 358. He has died. 359. So the reason I have come to you is firstly to ask you to help with the expenses and secondly to ask you to come with me, for Abunawas had many sins against you and you should forgive him. Of course during his lifetime I would not have asked you to forgive him. 360. But because he has already died, if you will, you should forgive him.' 361. 'Well, alright,' said the leader, 'if Abunawas were still living, I tell you, earth and sky would be rolled up first - as long as we would have lived, Abunawas and I would not have been reconciled. 362. I could not forgive him. 363. But because Abunawas has died now I will come along with you and forgive him.'

361. 'Na, hāp ne,' pa'in nakura'in, 'bang si'
well good now say leader-NPC if IRR

ke'ellum Abunawas akahante kew ilunan
living Abunawas tell-we,DU you,SG roll.up

hadja gubi langit bang teggelan kami ellum,
just world sky if as.long.as we,EX live

gey kami maghāp duk Abunawas. 362. Gey iye
NEG we,EX reconcile with Abunawas NEG him

ta'ampunku. 363. Subey pegge' matey ne
CIRC-forgive-I but because die now

Abunawas nuhut ne ku ka'u, ampunku ne
Abunawas follow now I you,SG forgive-I now

Abunawas.'
Abunawas

364. Magtuhut ne anda Abunawasin duk
go.together now wife Abunawas-NPC and

nakura'in pĪ si luma'. 365. Pagtekka
leader-NPC DIR PTL house when-arrive

so'osa la'i nakura'in, pagpayam ne, Ī' ne
there leader-NPC when-look now there now people

pahantal Abunawas, duk inadji'an ne we'
stretched.out Abunawas and read.for now by

me' pakilin, pa'inne, 'Nakura', duk kite
PL pakil-NPC say-she leader so.that we,DU

gey kohap magkubul, pitu ne kew
NEG afternoon bury to.here now you,SG

patapit pu si Abunawas missā ne kew duk
close to PM Abunawas speak now you,SG so.that

ne gey tanggalang lengngannen duk ne iye gey
now NEG delayed going-his and now he NEG

dinuse we' nu, ampunun ne Abunawas.'
have.sin by you,SG forgive-IMP now Abunawas

366. Pasōng ne isab nakura'in pĪ pu si
closer now also leader-NPC DIR to PM

Abunawas.
Abunawas

364. Abunawas' wife and the leader went together to the house. 365. When they arrived there, he looked and there was Abunawas stretched out and the were reading for him. Abunawas' wife said, 'Leader, come here now closer to Abunawas and speak to him so that it won't be too late in the afternoon for the burial and so that his departure will not be delayed and so that he won't have any sin towards you any more, forgive him now.' 366. So the leader moved closer to Abunawas.

367. 'Abunawas,' pa'in nakura'in,
Abunawas say leader-NPC

'magbissā kite bisan ne kew ga'i
speak.together we,DU even now you,SG NEG

makasambung. 368. Ampunun ku, iyu' ne
AFF-answer forgive-IMP me there now

kew ngamban, iyu' ne kew matey
you,SG leave.behind there now you,SG die

kuwe'itu. 369. Duk ka'u isab,' pa'inne,
now and you,SG also say-he

'ampunte kew amban dunya sampay si
forgive-we,DU you,SG from earth up.to PTL

kandang ahilat,' pa'inne, 'ampunte
after.world say-he forgive-we,DU

kew. 370. Niya' dusenu si aku bakas
you,SG there.is sin-your,SG PTL me P

ne ku pinabellihan we' nu, ampunte
now me sell by you,SG forgive-we,DU

kew.' 371. Sakayi' missā nakura'in, pa'inne,
you,SG when speak leader-NPC say-he

'ampunte ne kew', donga' ne Abunawas
forgive-we,DU now you,SG get.up now Abunawas

amban pabākanne. 372. 'Magsukul ku,'
from lying.place-his thank I

pa'inne, 'Nakura', ampunnu ku hati'.'
say-he leader forgive-you,SG me SURP

367. 'Abunawas,' said the leader, 'we will speak together now even though you can't answer anymore. 368. Forgive me, you are leaving us behind now, you have died now. 369. And I also will forgive you for all time, I forgive you. 370. You have sinned against me, you have sold me, but I forgive you.' 371. When the leader said, 'I forgive you,' Abunawas got up from his bed. 372. 'Thank you very much, Leader,' he said, 'I am surprised that you forgive me.'

373. Makajari pe pinasōng-sōng.
possible yet CAUS-go.on

374. Subey patamante dahu' taman I'.
but CAUS-end-we,DU first end here

Wassalam.
and.peace

373. We could just keep going. 374. But let us stop here for now. Wassalam.

APPENDIX B

DATU' KALUN

By Unding Shariful Taha Kalun I

1. Inin me' suwi-suwi masa Kastila' pe.
2. Ga' hep kemon Pilipinas inin tapagbaya'an we' gubelno Kastila'in.

3. Si lahat Kabite (Cavite), si munisipiyo Bako'ol, si tahun dangibu duk walu' hatus duk ennempu' duk dembuwa', niya' panuhutan dambuwa' guwaldiya sibil, pinabettad la'i si Kabite.
4. A'a inin landu' la'atan.
5. Pasu' te'ed.
6. Ekka a'a diyalem Lo'ok kapapeddi'an duk tabalibid sabab a'a miya'an.
7. Ekka a'a mabaya' mapatey iye, subey gana' du makahinangne.
8. Ga' niya' maka'ara'-ara'.

9. Manjari, niya' me' makanak tellungan, subul-subul.
10. Me' makanak inin niya' me' sempu' duk ennem tahun umulden, niya' isab palabi-labi.
11. Me' makanak inin, duma'in amban lahat Bako'ol hadja.
12. Subey niya' dembuwa' inenan si Pedro, lahatnen amban Salinas.
13. Niya' dembuwa' Pedro du isab, lahatnen amban Talaba.
14. Na, niya' dembuwa' amban Ligas, Bako'ol.
15. Pedro du isab ennen.
16. Apilyidunen Cuevas.
17. Na bang me' duwangan i', Pedro amban Salinas duk Talaba ley ga'i kata'uhanku bang ine apilyiduden.
18. Iye du kata' uhankun Pedro amban Ligas miya'an.
19. Ligas inin sakup si Bako'ol du.
20. Na ta'abut tahun dangibu duk walu' hatus duk ennempu' duk duwe, me' makanak tellungan inin magbagay te'ed.
21. Kuwe' siye magpungtina'i.

22. Manjari de ellew, pegge' ga' niya' maka'ara'-ara' me' a'a dem paglahatin, me' mabahi'-bahi'in, papuwa' me makanak tellungan inin magisun, bahasa ngahapa'an panuhutan me' guwaldiya sibil miya'an, duk bang tapapateyde, papateyde.

23. Na manjari mintedde kohap-kohap lumengngan ne siye.
24. Pegge' panuhutan guwaldiya sibil miya'an, bang me' kohap-kohap isab-isab maglengngan-lengngan si lan.
25. Na hinapa'an we' de.
26. Ga' du teggel palabey ne.
27. Na, paglabey ne, na ine pe?
28. Hininang ne we' me' makanakin.
29. Ga' bisan makatimbak, pegge' pinogpog hadja we' de.
30. Niya' sawe'ne ga'i hadja kata'uhanku bang piyangan, magubas.

DATU KALUN
Free Translation

1. This is a story about the times of the Spaniards.
2. Not all of the Philippines was ruled by the Spanish government.

3. In Cavite, in the municipality of Bacool in the year 1861, there was a certain leader of the civil guard stationed in Cavite.
4. This person was very bad.
5. He was very hot tempered.
6. Many people in Look were beaten and imprisoned because of that man.
7. Many people would have liked to kill him, but nobody did it.
8. Nobody dared to do it.

9. Now there were three young fellows.
10. These boys were about 16 years old, some were a little older.
11. These boys were not all from Bacool.
12. There was one called Pedro, he was from Salinas.
13. There was another Pedro, he was from Talaba.
14. There was another one from Ligas, Bacool.
15. He also was called Pedro.
16. His surname was Cuevas.
17. As for the other two Pedros from Salinas and Talaba, I don't know their surnames.
18. The only one I know is Pedro from Ligas.
19. Ligas is part of Bacool.
20. In the year 1862 these three boys were already good friends.
21. They were like brothers.

22. Then one day, because nobody dared to do it, neither the people of that place nor the elders, these three boys planned to ambush the leader of the civil guard and if they had a chance to kill, they would kill him.

23. Then one day in the afternoon they went out.
24. Because in the afternoon the leader of the civil guard used to go out on the road.
25. They lay in ambush.
26. Not long after, he went by.
27. When he went by, what did they do?
28. The boys did it.
29. Before he could shoot they just hit him.
30. He had companions, but I don't know how many. They ran.

31. Matey miya'an.
32. Agen-agen sigpit me' a'a dem Bako'olin, we' gubiyelnohin, we' me' Kastila'in sabab miya'an.
33. Pegge' sa miya'an ne, ekka a'a siniggew, ekka a'a sinumariya.
34. Sudda-sudda me' a'ahin ga'i makasandal.
35. Bisan agen-agen sangem, ginuwaldiyahan me' luma'den.
36. Ujudnen magaka ne me' makakite siyehin.
37. Na iye inakaden me' makanak tellungan miya'an me' inenan si Pedro sali'-sali'.

38. Manjari suddanen na piniha ne siye.
39. Taka-taka tasiggew.
40. Sakayi tasiggew, iye tasiggewin duwanganin, Pedro amban Salinasin, duk amban Talabahin.
41. Siye tasiggewin dehellu.
42. Pegge' Pedro dambuwa' amban Bako'ol inin, ga' tasiggew.
43. Lahi, magtapukan.
44. Manjari pegge' sa miya'an ne, na ga'i dinehengan.
45. Luma'den si Ligas, Bako'ol, bisan sangem tinunggu'an we' me' guwaldiya sibilin.
46. Sampay me' sa'i-samanen duk me' pungtina'ine budjang, pinepeddi'an.
47. Taka-taka sa miya'an, umabut bang piyem bulan, ga' tasiggewde si Pedro miya'an, iye Pedro amban Ligasin.
48. Pegge' me' sawe'ne duwanganin dem kalabusu ne.
49. Tabo'o ne siye si Manila'.
50. Na, pegge' umabut niya' tapit ennem bulan, tahun dangibu duk walu' hatus duk ennempu' duk duwe hinukum ne duwanganin.
51. Bisan ga' la'i, Pedro Cuevas miya'an lamud si me' hukuman i'en.
52. Sakayi labo' hukumanin, hukumanin pinapatey siye.

53. Na, manjari, pegge' sa i'en ne, me' kapungtina'ihan si Pedro Cuevas inin, sampay samanen, kemon ne siye magteyi'-anakin, pegge' kata'uhande ne matey sawe'nen, nambahide ne kerehitan.
54. Na, manjari magpikilan sama si Pedro Cuevas inin, bang inumeyne ne duk siye ga'i lumandu' sigpit.
55. Manjari de ellew, tapikilne, lumengngan iye harap Manila'.
56. Subay masa i' duma'in kuwe' kuwe'itu.
57. Ga' pe niya' buslayin masa i' atawa tumubil.
58. Maglengngan a'ahin, bang ga'i ngura'.
59. Iye miya'an maglengngan hadja pegge' siye inin, duma'in du isab tantu dayahan.
60. Duma'in du isab tantu kasigpitan te'ed, subey duma'in dayahan.
61. Lumengngan iye. Ilengngannen, miha iye pekitabanganne si Manila'.

62. Manjari sakayi iye la'i diyalem Manila', ga' be niya' tantu takasuwa'ne makatabangan iye.

31. He died.
32. The people in Bacool were hard pressed by the government, by the Spaniards because of what happened.
33. Because of the situation many people were caught, many were questioned.
34. Eventually the people could not endure.
35. Even at night, their homes were guarded.
36. Finally those who saw them talked.
37. Now that's what they said, that it was those three boys, the three all called Pedro.

38. So in the end they were searched for.
39. Finally they were caught.
40. When they were caught, they found only two, Pedro from Salinas and from Talaba.
41. They were caught first.
42. Because the Pedro from Bacool, he wasn't caught.
43. He fled and hid.
44. Therefore the guards did not stop their investigation, because of this they did not stop.
45. The house in Ligas, Bacool was guarded by civil guards even at night.
46. His father, his mother and his sisters were even punished.
47. That's how it went for many months, they did not catch that Pedro, Pedro from Ligas.
48. His two companions were already in prison.
49. They were taken to Manila proper.
50. After about six months, in 1862, the two were judged.
51. Even though he was not there, Pedro Cuevas was included in the verdict.
52. When the verdict was given, they were sentenced to death.

53. So then, because it was like this, the sisters of Pedro Cuevas, his father, all his family, because they knew that his companions were dead, they were even more terrified.
54. Now the father of Pedro Cuevas thought of what he could do so that they would not be so hard pressed.
55. One day he thought that he should go to Manila.
56. But at that time it wasn't like it is now.
57. There were no buses at that time or cars.
58. The people just walked, if they didn't ride horseback.
59. Now he just walked, because they were not very rich.
60. They were not really badly off, but they were not rich either, so he walked.
61. He went to look for help in Manila.

62. Then when he was there in Manila, he could not really find anyone who could help him.

63. Sababnen siye inin a'a probinsiya.
64. Me' a'a Manila' inin a'a siyudad.
65. Ga' niya' tantu me' basagne, ga' niya' tantu takilalene la'i.
66. Bennal niya' takilalene, sampay niya' usbane la'i.
67. Subey me' a'a ga' niya' basagde si gubiyelno.

68. Na, manjari pegge' sa miya'an ne, mole' ne iye isab balik.
69. Sakayi mole' magpikil-pikil ne isab.
70. Ta'abut bang piyem bahangi, balik ne isab hap Manila'.
71. Sakayi balik si Manila', pi ne iye si haman Malakanyangley.
72. Ekka a'a la'i magtingkolo' pegge' Malakanyang inin me' masa i'en niya' me' bangku'ne la'i.
73. Ekka isab me' kayu hadje tinanem.
74. Sampay kuwe'itu me' sinduwe kayuhin i' pe nengge si higad Malakanyangley.
75. Na manjari tiggelande magtingkolo'-tingkolo' mala'ihin duk me' a'a andang magtingkolo' mala'ihin, bessuwang hep inin iye takaleden maghibuk dem astana'in.
76. Ine kew, anda Gubelnadul Heneralin, Senyorahin, ngamahan me' musatsuden.
77. We' sakayi siye magpakan me' manuk-manuk dem kulunganin, niya' me' manuk-manukin lumayang.
78. Me' manuk-manuk miya'an mahalga'.
79. Duma'in me' manuk-manuk tu'u si kite si Pilipinas, manuk-manuk me' amban lahat seddili.
80. Me' hunit halga'ne ley lumeppa amban dem kulungan, sinduwehin hadja, ga' isab kemon.
81. Na sakayi lumeppa, inamahan manamal me' musatsu diyalem astana' miya'an.
82. Sakayi' inamahan dina'ak si siye du'un-du'un pinuwa' me' manuk-manukin.
83. Bu sa'ingge paniggewin bang i' diyata' punjung kayuley kadapu'-dapu'an.

84. Na, manjari ekka ne magtabang.
85. Me' a'a mala'i magtingkolo'in nabang ne so'osa.
86. Niya' ne mana'ik.
87. Na subey hangkan pinana'ik, bang mana'ik siye si dempo'on kayu, me' manuk-manukin palinda pi si seddili kayu isab.
88. Na sampay me' pilisu si diyalem kalabusuhin ineddo' ne, dina'ak nabang.
89. Na iye du be, ga'i tasiggew, sabab hangkan pana'ikde dembuwa' kayuhin, palayang isab pi si seddili kayu.
90. Duk bisan isab sinduwehin pa'amban, na ga'i du ta'abutde pegge' i' si me' punjung-punjung kayu te'ed, ga'i ne ta'abut.
91. Manjari, niya' dambuwa' a'a bahi', iye ne bahasa sama si Pedro Cuevas miya'an inenan Sebastiyan.
92. Puwa' iye nengge.
93. Na i' a'a bahi' ne.

63. The reason was, they were from the province.
64. And the people in Manila were city people.
65. He didn't have much influence, he didn't know many there.
66. True, he knew some, he even had relatives there.
67. But they were people with no influence in the government.

68. As this was so, he went home again.
69. When he was home he kept thinking.
70. After a few days he went back again to Manila.
71. When he went back to Manila, he went to the park of Malacañang.
72. Many people were sitting there, because at that time there were many benches there.
73. There were also many big trees planted there.
74. Even today some of the trees are still standing at the edge of Malacañang.
75. Now, while he was sitting there with the other people, all of a sudden they heard a great noise in the palace.
76. What do you know, the wife of the Governor General, the Señora, was angry with their servants.
77. Because while they were feeding the birds in the cage some had gotten away.
78. Those birds were valuable.
79. They were not birds from us here in the Philippines, but from other countries.
80. They were of great value, they had gotten away from the cage, some of them, not all.
81. Now, because they had gotten away, the servants in the palace were scolded.
82. When they were scolded they were told to quickly catch them again.
83. But, how can one catch them when they are perched on top of the trees?

84. So then many helped.
85. The people sitting there on the benches all helped.
86. Some climbed up.
87. But whenever someone went up, when they climbed up one tree, the birds flew off to another tree.
88. Even the prisoners from the prison were fetched and told to help.
89. But the birds were not to be caught, because whenever someone climbed up one tree they flew off to another tree.
90. And even though some of the people remained in the trees, they could not reach them because they were in the very tree tops, they could not be reached.

91. Now, there was a certain old man there, that is, he was the father of Pedro Cuevas, who was called Sebastian.
92. He stood up.
93. He was an older man already.

94. Sakayi nengge, tege bissa iye si me' a'a mala'ihin.
95. Pa'inne, "Da'a ka'am magbukag, nambahine iyan patala.
96. Subey", pa'inne, "bang ka'am mabaya', ningkolo' hadja ka'am, da'a ka'am nengge."
97. Manjari me' sinduwehin magsaye, sinduwehin patuhut ningkolo'.
98. Subey sinduwehin na ngudji'-ngudji'.
99. Pagsayehande, pa'inde, "Sine a'a bahi' iyan?
100. Tahinangne ke iyan, tasiggewne?"
101. Na subey a'a bahi'in ga' pakale si me' bissa i'.
102. Papuwa' iye nengge, pinayaman we' ne bang antag pagtipunan me' manuk-manukin.
103. Hap pi ne iye.
104. Ga' isab iye mana'ik subey la'i du iye nengge si po'on kayuley.
105. Tineppak hadja we' ne mintellu po'on kayuhin.
106. Na ubus inagadan.
107. Subey sinessa'an we' ne me' a'a mala'ihin ga'i hadja dina'ak magbukag.
108. Ga'i dina'ak magbissa.
109. Na ga' du tiggel me' manuk-manukin patugpa' duwa'i.
110. Patugpa' siye diyalem sabet-sabet.
111. Pag la'i ne me' manuk-manukin pa'inne si me' a'a ma'ekkahin, "Pi ne ka'am siggewun be ne."
112. Na me' manuk-manukin maglaksu-laksu hadja, ga'i ne kapalayang, tahande ngapas ne.
113. Na manjari pag tasiggew i', bino'o mana'ik ne, la'i si astana', inisi ne balik dem kulungan.

114. Manjari anda Heneralin kegan ne isab balik.
115. Puwa'ne magtilew, patontong duwa'i pi si haren bang sine makasiggew me' manuk-manukin.
116. Na inakahan ne iye.
117. Tinolo' we' de si iye a'a bahi' makasiggewin.
118. Na, manjari ilinganan we' ne.
119. "Ka'u," pa'inne, "makasiggew me' manuk-manukku miya'an?"
120. Nambung iye pa'inne, "Duma'in isab tantu, ga' ku isab," pa'inne, "niggewne, iye du maniggewin me' a'a iyan.
121. Subey si pikilanku," pa'inne, "na nabang, Tuhanin.
122. Lingananku me' manuk-manukin, da'akku duwa'i, na duwa'i isab.
123. Iye i'," pa'inne, "panabangkun."
124. "Manjari, we'ey kew tu'u?" pa'in Senyorahin, anda Gubelnadul Heneralin.
125. Na manjari nambung iye, "Niya'," pa'inne, "akaku."
126. Pa'in Senyorahin, "Ine akanun?"
127. Na magaka ne bang ine akanen, we' iye tege kasusehan hadje sabab anaknen.
128. Manjari tinilew-tilew ne we Senyorahin.
129. Inaka ne we' ne.

94. While he was standing there he had a word with the people there.
95. He said, "Don't be noisy, they will just fly further away.
96. If you don't mind, just sit down, don't stand there," he said.
97. Now, some laughed, others did what he said and sat down.
98. But others were mocking.
99. They laughed at him, they said, "Who is that old man?
100. Can he do it, can he catch them?"
101. But the old man did not listen to that talk.
102. He was standing there watching where the birds congregated.
103. And went there.
104. He did not climb up but he stood at the base of the tree.
105. And slapped the tree trunk three times with the palm of his hand.
106. Then he waited.
107. But he admonished the others not to be noisy.
108. He told them not to speak.
109. Not long after, the birds came down.
110. They hopped down into the grass.
111. When they were there he said to the crowds, "Go and catch them now."
112. The birds were just hopping around, they couldn't fly, now they were easily chased.
113. Now when they were caught they were brought up to the palace, and put back into the cage.

114. Now then, the wife of the General was happy again.
115. Then she asked, looking down from the stairs, who had fetched the birds.
116. She was told.
117. They pointed to the old man who had caught them.
118. She called him.
119. She said, "You are the one who caught my birds?"
120. He said: "Not really me, I didn't catch them, those people caught them.
121. But in my opinion" he said, "it was God who helped.
122. I called the birds and told them to come down, and so they came down.
123. That is how I helped."
124. "Why are you here?" said the Señora, the wife of the Governor General.
125. So he said, "I want something."
126. The Señora said, "What is it you want?"
127. Then he told what he wanted, that he was in great trouble because of his child.
128. The Señora asked him many questions.
129. And he told her everything.

130. Na manjari pa'in Senyorahin, "Makajari bo'onu anaknun pitu?"
131. "Na," pa'inne, "ga'i ku isab makasanggup.
132. Pegge' iyu' ne patapuk.
133. Piyem bulan ne," pa'inne, "pagpiha, subey ga' pe takasuwa'.
134. Subey", pa'inne, "sa i' ne tangguku si ka'uhin.
135. Mole' ne ku duk bang takasuwa'ku, bu takole'ku du, bo'oku pitu.'
136. Na iye ne i', mole' ne iye.

137. Manjari palabey bang piyem bahangi, taksuwa'ne ne anaknen.
138. Sakayi takasuwa'ne, na pinahemokan we' ne.
139. Arak-arak ne ga'i mabaya'.
140. Sabab kerehitan ne, sabab kata'uhanne me' sawe'ne duwanganin ubus ne pinapatey.
141. Na, subey meke'ase'-ase' samanen duk me' pungtina'ine dendehin, dina'ak ne nuhut.
142. Sudda-suddanen pegge' sa miya'an ne, ga'i kata'uhan bang piyem bahangi magsege', magpahemok, na suddanen tabo'one du.
143. Bino'o we' ne pi si Malakanyang.
144. Pag tekkade la'i, pegge' iye takilale we' guwaldiyahin, bino'o ne iye si Senyorahin.
145. Na pegge' la'i ne si Senyorahin, bino'o ne we' ne pi si ellanen, si Gubelnadul Heneralin.
146. Inakahan ne we' ne ellanen we' iye miya'an mekesiggew me' manuk-manukin.
147. Na duk magaka ne Senyorahin si ellanen, sabab anakne masigpit miya'an katempohan ne.
148. Tinempohan bisan ga' na'an.
149. Manjari sakayi magpikil-pikil Gubelnadul Heneralin, ma'ase' ne te'ed si a'a bahi'in, pa'inne si a'a bahi'in, "Hap ne, bu ne aku," pa'inne, "tamanan panabangku si ka'uhin, anaknu inin ga'i ne matey.
150. Subey pinabo'ohan hadja," pa'inne, "si Guam."
151. We' masa i' ekka me' Pilipino bang niya' sa'de si gubiyelno, isab-isab pinabo'ohon we' gubelnohin si Guam.
152. Na manjari magpikil-pikil ne isab a'a bahi'in, ma'id ne isab mole' ngakahan me' anak-andanen, we' sa miya'an tabang Gubelnadul Heneralin.
153. Na manjari bu ne anakne miya'an tahan ne ngagadan bahasa bang niya' ne kappal, bino'o ne hap Guam.

154. Na manjari palabey piye simana magpikil-pikil ne pa'in a'a bahi'in, bang inumeyne, bang niya' pe ke akkalne, na iye miha akkal.
155. Na manjari pegge' ga' pe du isab niya' tekka kappal, ga' pe tabo'o harap Guam.
156. Papuwa' iye balik, sampay me' anakne dendehin niya' nuhut si iye pi si Malakanyang.
157. Pag la'i, tinilew ne isab bang ine akanen.

130. Then the Señora said, "Can you bring your son here?"
131. He said, "I cannot be sure.
132. Because he is hiding.
133. Many months he has been searched for, but he hasn't been found yet.
134. But please wait a while.," he said.
135. "I will go home now; if I find him and if I can, I will bring him."
136. After that he went home.

137. After several days he found his son.
138. When he found him, he comforted him.
139. He (Pedro) almost did not want to go.
140. For he was terrified, because he knew that his two companions had been killed.
141. But his father and his sisters begged him to feel pity for them, they told him to go along.
142. Finally because of this, I don't know for how many days he had been coaxed and comforted, finally the father could take him along.
143. He brought him to Malacañang.
144. When they arrived there, because the guard already knew him he took him to the Señora.
145. So the Señora brought him to her husband, the Governor General.
146. She told her husband that he was the person who had caught the birds.
147. And the Señora told her husband about the son who was in difficulty, who had been sentenced already.
148. He had been sentenced even though he was not there.
149. When the Governor General considered it, he felt sorry for the old man, he said to the old man: 'Good, I will help you as 1 much as I can, your son shall not die.
150. He shall be taken to Guam.'
151. In those times many people from the Philippines, if the government found them at fault, were taken to Guam by the
152. The old man thought about it; immediately he took his leave to go home and tell his wife and children that the Governor General was going to help in that way.
153. His son was put under lock and key, to wait for a ship going to Guam.

154. A few weeks went by and the old man thought of what he could do; if there was any way out, he looked for a way out.
155. Now because no ship had arrived yet, the boy had not yet been taken to Guam.
156. The father went back again with his daughters to Malacañang.
157. When he was there he was asked what he wanted.

158. Na magtangis me' pungtina'i si Pedro Cuevas dendehin, bahasa essebde.
159. Dina'ak ne siye pi si kalabusu, nindew iye.

160. Manjari sakayi siye la'i, samaden pa'amban si Malakanyang.
161. Sakayi la'i si Malakanyang, na a'a bahi'in, maki'ase'-ase' te'ed duk mekitulung te'ed si Gubelnadul Heneralin duk andanen bang niya' lan seddili amban pinabo'ohan pi si Guam.
162. Pakune bang makajari, bisan antag bang tu'u du hadja diyalem Pilipinas.
163. Manjari sakayi magpikil-pikil Gubelnadul Heneralin, hatu lumandu' ne te'ed ase'nen pegge' la'i ne a'a bahi'in magtangis, la'i ne me' anakne budjangin magtangis.
164. Na pa'in Gubelnadul Heneralin, "Hap ne.
165. Aku ma'ase'ne.
166. Tulungku si ka'amin, duk ka'am ga'i kahunitan, bang essebbi duk ka'am mura-mura tapi.
167. Pinabo'ohan iye si San Ramon."
168. (Subey San Ramonin masa i', duma'in San Ramon kuwe'itu ne inin.
169. San Ramon masahin, tu'u si Calarian tapit si higad tahik.
170. Subey kalabusu i'en eggas ne masa Kastila'in.
171. Hangkan hep bisan me' rekord si Pedro Cuevasin, ubus eggas kemon.
172. Ekka ne bakas mamiha me' rekordin, ga' ne takasuwa'.)
173. Na manjari bino'o ne Pedro Cuevas miya'an pitu si San Ramon.

174. Manjari kabohat-bohatan siye tu'u si San Ramon.
175. Sabab siye miya'an, me' pilisu politiko.
176. Duma'in hadja iye, ekka isab la'i me' pilisu politiko.
177. Na manjari umabut siye niya' tapit limen tahun la'i.
178. Na ga'i ne siye makasandal.
179. Sabab iye ga'i kasandalanden, me' masa i' ekka me' enande payret hatinen me' magbibihag.
180. Na payam-payamde bang palabey amban atag San Ramon.
181. Payretin magsiggew me' a'a, bu bino'o si seddili lahat pinabellihan.
182. Lu'u ne bangsa Kiristiyan, bangsa Muslim, siniggew we' de pinabellihan.
183. Na duk iye ne te'ed ga'i kasandalanden bohat te'ed hinangin si San Ramon duk pinapeddi'an siye.

184. Na manjari pegge' sa i'en ne, magpikilan si Pedro Cuevas.
185. Mene' iye me' bagay-bagayne dem kalabusu sali'-sali'in, me' ara'-ara' kapangandelanin.
186. Na papuwa' iye, sakayi magpene', niya' tapene' we ne ennem a'a, subey ga' pe pa'in bo'one magbissa.

158. The sisters of Pedro Cuevas wept because they were longing for him.
159. They were told to go to the prison and visit him.

160. While they were there, their father was left at Malacañang.
161. While he was there at Malacañang, he really asked for mercy and help from the Governor General and his wife if there was any way for him other than that he should be taken to Guam.
162. He begged that he would be taken to any place, if only it were here in the Philippines.
163. While the Governor General was thinking, perhaps he was overcome with pity because, the daughters were weeping and the old man was weeping.
164. Then the Governor General said: "Good.
165. I am sorry for you.
166. I will help you so that it won't be too difficult for you if you are homesick for him, to go to him.
167. He shall be taken to San Ramon."
168. (But San Ramon of those days was not like San Ramon nowadays.
169. San Ramon at that time was here at Calarian near the seashore.
170. But that prison burned down during the Spanish times.
171. Therefore even the records of Pedro Cuevas were all burned.
172. Many have searched for the records but they have not been found.)
173. Now, Pedro Cuevas was brought here to San Ramon.

174. They had a difficult time here at San Ramon.
175. Because they were political prisoners.
176. It was not just him; there were many political prisoners.
177. They were there for almost five years.
178. But they could not endure it anymore.
179. The reason why they could not stand it anymore was because in those times there were many pirates as they called them.
180. They saw them from San Ramon when they went by.
181. The pirates captured people and took them to different places and sold those people.
182. They captured them, Christianos and Muslims, and sold them.
183. And what they really could not endure any more was the hard work in San Ramon and the beatings.

184. Because it was as it was, Pedro Cuevas thought.
185. He chose his friends among his fellow prisoners, those who could be trusted well.
186. When he selected them he chose six persons but he did not talk to them yet.

187. Me' a'a inin si Juan Malyares, si Isabelo Maligalig, si Pedro Sabran, duk niya' tellungan ga'i kata'uhanku bang sine apilyidude inin, inenan Rodensiyo, duk Santulan, duk si Marshal.
188. Manjari iye inin pinene'nen.
189. Subey pinene' si pikilanne.
190. Sabab ga' pe tabo'one magbissa.
191. Duk niya' me' tabo'one magbissa isab sinduwe, na ga'i mabaya' nuhut si iye, tinalew.
192. Na me' a'a tina'atku miya'an ennem miya'an nanggup siye asal nuhut.

193. Na manjari siye magpanyap-panyap ne.
194. Sakayi siye kapagpanyap ne, dambuwa' sangem iye pinendogahanden me' guwaldiyahin.
195. Subey pagpendogade iyan duma'in dan sangem duma'in duwen sangem, duma'in hatu sampu' sangem pamendogaden.
196. Na manjari dan sangem, takuhide me' guwaldiyahin, sinduwehin lipat.
197. Iye hatinen kapatuli.
198. Na sakayi kapatuli, niya' dangan iye magantan kunsi'in.
199. Ta'onotde amban diyalem, ta'eddo'de kunsi' kalabusuhin.
200. Na sakayi talukade, duk sakayi siye lumuwas, dambuwa' guwaldiya miya'an ga' pinapatey we' de.
201. Subey me' sinduwehin pinapatey.
202. Duk dembuwa' maiya'an ga' ne maghibuk.
203. Matuk isab magmatey-matey si sinduwehin.
204. Na lumeppa siye sampay me' bessi-bessihin meke'eddo' siye, me' sinapang guwaldiyahin.
205. Na sakayi siye lahi, lahi siye lu'u si diyata'an Ayala iyan.
206. Lu'u siye patapuk.
207. Na piniha ne siye.
208. Ellew-sangem pagpiha me' sundaluhin si siye.
209. Na siye, iye hinangden magpiha kinakande dahu'.
210. Ga' siye maghinang la'atan.
211. Ga' niya' kahinangande la'atan lu si diyata'an Ayala iyan.
212. Sabab me' a'a malu'uhin nabang si siye, ngelligan siye supaya siye ga'i takasuwa'.

213. Na manjari umabut siye niya' me' ennem bulan lu'u, magpikilan siye tahala' amban Ayala, amban pu' Sembuwangan iyan.
214. Sabab sigpit siye la'i.
215. Ga'i siye hinalihan piniha-ki-piniha.
216. Manjari Pedro Cuevas inin, niya' dembuwa' bagayne lu si Sinunuk.
217. Ilengngan we' de.
218. Na pi siye mekitabang, miha akkal bang sa'ingge palipagden amban Sembuwangan pitu si Basilan.

187. These were the people he chose: Juan Malyares, Isabelo Maligalig, Pedro Sabran and there were three more whose surnames I don't know, one was called Rodensiyo and one Santulan and one Marshal.
188. These ones he chose.
189. But he had chosen them only in his mind because he had not talked to them yet.
190. And there were others he talked to.
191. Some did not want to go along with him; they were afraid.
192. The six named promised to go along with him.

193. Then they got ready.
194. While they were preparing they observed the guards one night.
195. But they watched not just one night, or two nights; probably more than ten nights they observed.
196. One night they noticed that some of the guards were not watching, that is they fell asleep.
197. One of them had the key.
198. While the guards were asleep he (Pedro) and his companions reached outside and got they key to the prison.
199. Then they opened the door.
200. When they went outside, one of the guards they did not kill.
201. But the others they killed.
202. And the one did not make any noise.
203. He pretended to be dead like the others.
204. So they escaped; they even took the weapons along, the guns of the guards.
205. Then they fled, they fled to a place above Ayala.
206. There they hid.
207. They were searched for.
208. Day and night the soldiers searched for them.
209. Now they, what they did first was look for food.
210. They did not do anything bad.
211. They did not do anything bad while they were there above Ayala.
212. The people there helped them, they hid them so that they would not be found.

213. Now when they had been there for about six months, they thought about leaving Ayala, leaving the Zamboanga peninsula.
214. Because they were in great difficulties there.
215. They were constantly searched for.
216. Pedro Cuevas had a friend in Sinunuk.
217. They went there.
218. They went there to ask for help, to look for ways to cross over from Zamboanga here to Basilan.

219. Na pa'in bagayne miya'an, "Patapuk-tapuk ne dahu' ka'am, miha ku bang niya' takasuwa'ku."
220. Manjari papuwa' bagayde miya'an magpiha.
221. Na sakayi ngasuwa' duma'in isab sakayanne.
222. Subey sakayan me' a'a, ga'i kata'uhanne bang sine dapu'nen.
223. Na pegge' niya' ne sakayan, papuwa' iye magpasan.
224. Pinasanan ne siye inin dina'ak pitu' siye, sampay Pedro Cuevas, we' niya' ne sakayan.

225. Na manjari bahude isab pi, niya' dambuwa' tinda Sina' lu'u si Ayala iyan, ilangpasan we' de.
226. Ilangpasan pangeddo'ande banya'.
227. Ga' isab papateyde.
228. Pangurung si siye me' kinakan kabaya'anden.
229. Sampay niya' sinapang Sina'in pangurung pu si Pedro Cuevas miya'an.
230. Sinapang miya'an tabo'one sampay dem kubul.
231. Sinapangne miya'an sakayi tu'u si Basilan, inenan Ta'alluk Basilan ne.

232. Na manjari sakayi siye la'i ne si Sinunuk, na pasakey ne siye diyata' sakayan.
233. Na iye mahunitin ga' niya' busey.
234. Ga' niya' banug.
235. Manjari makipiha siye busey, bang ga' niya' banug bisan sa' pa'in busey.
236. Na ga' niya' takasuwa'.
237. Papuwa' bagayne miya'an ngeddo' me' paka lahing binakbasan, iye hinangde buseyin.
238. Na ga' ne.
239. Siye patulak ne.
240. Niya' du isab me' lutu'de, ta'eddo'de amban tinda Sina'in.
241. Na sakayi patulak, na tabo'o siye we' solonin tu'u si pu' Malamawi.
242. Duwa'i siye tapit lu si niya' lahat inenan Butun.
243. Subey duma'in te'ed si Butun, tapit hadja la'i.
244. Na la'i ne siye.
245. Pag la'ide, niya' luma' la'i, pi siye si luma' i'en.
246. Sakayi siye tinilew, na magaka siye, bu ne siye me' pilisu leppa.
247. Na a'a miya'an dambuwa' a'a bahi', Ilocano hati' miya'an.
248. Na iye i'en mamakan siyehin si diyalem tellum bahangi.
249. Subey patulihanden dem bangkew.
250. Mana'ik siye diyata' bangkew.
251. Pegge' kata'uhan la'i si Pasangen, piniha ne siye we' me' sundalu Kastila'in.
252. Patapuk siye.
253. Na umabut siye tellun sangem la'i.
254. Ka'ampat sangemnen kinemotan ne siye we' a'a bahi' miya'an, dina'ak siye lahi, sabab sigpit.

219. His friend said: "Just stay hidden. I will see if I can find anything."
220. Then their friend searched.
221. He found a conveyance but it was not his.
222. He did not know who this boat belonged to.
223. Because he had a conveyance now, he sent a message.
224. He sent a message to the seven including Pedro Cuevas, that he had one.

225. Before they went, they first broke into a shop of a Chinese that was there in Ayala.
226. They broke in to get provisions.
227. They didn't kill anybody.
228. They were given the food they wanted.
229. Even the gun of the Chinese man was given to Pedro Cuevas.
230. That particular gun he carried to his grave.
231. That gun of his was called Ta'alluk Basilan here in Basilan.

232. When they were there in Sinunuk they got into that boat.
233. There was a difficulty, they did not have a paddle.
234. There was no sail.
235. They were looking for a paddle; if there was no sail, they could at least paddle.
236. But none was to be found.
237. Then his friend fetched the midrib of a coconut leaf and cut it flat, that is what they used as a paddle.
238. So that was it.
239. They went on their voyage.
240. They had their provisions that they had got from the Chinese store.
241. When they set out they were carried by the high tide here to the island Malamawi.
242. They got off the boat near the place called Butun.
243. It was not right at Butun, but near by.
244. Now there they were.
245. There was a house and they went to that house.
246. When they were asked, they told them that they were prisoners who had escaped.
247. The person there was an old man, an Ilocano.
248. He fed them for three days.
249. But they slept in the mangroves.
250. They climbed up into the mangroves.
251. Because their escape was known in Pasangen many of the Spanish soldiers were searching for them.
252. They hid.
253. They stayed there for three nights.
254. On the fourth night the old man whispered to them telling them to flee because they were in danger.

255. Papuwa' siye lahi, tinuranan siye lu'u si tong Pasangen iyan.
256. Subey me' iyan masa i', na me' gulangan pe.
257. La'i siye.
258. Na sakayi siye la'i, puwa' siye pataked.
259. Pataked siye lu'u si Kabbun Bata' iyan.
260. Kulang pe a'a lu'u.
261. Ga' pe niya' me' palantasion lu'u si iyan.
262. Na la'i dahu' siye maglahat-lahatin, dem gulangan i'en.
263. Manjari ga' du isab siye tumeggel la'i.
264. Hatu siye niya' me' dem bulan lu'u, magpikilan siye lahi.
265. Sakayi siye lahi, piyu siye tapit si punu Kebbang iyan, lu'u si diyata'an U.P. Land Grant.
266. Na lu'u tumeggel-teggel siye.
267. Sampay lu'u ka'ellumanden na magtimbak me' bawi duk payew duk niya' takakande.
268. Duk bang sangem na maglengngan siye, magpiha kinakan tu'u si higad.
269. Sampay pitu si Malu'ung iyan si Ubit iyan, lu'u si Nipa' ta'abutde lu'u.

270. Na manjari niya' sawe'de inenan Marshal.
271. Marshal inin tuwas-tuwas.
272. Agen-agen ngagew basag pu si Cuevas.
273. Na papuwa' iye mapateyne.
274. Na pegge' matey ne miya'an papuwa' siye, ennem sa' siye, tahala' ne billu'u amban diyata' iyan, amban tapit si punu Kebbang iyan.
275. Palurus siye pitu si Nipa'.
276. Subey me' masa i' ginara'an duk ilengngan bang mimpiye Pasangenin we' me' katindegan Sultan amban Sukin.
277. Siye, na lu'u ne si Nipa'.
278. Lu'u ne siye maghinang-hinang.
279. Sampay mekehinang siye dambuwa' basak.
280. Iyu' du lu'u basakin.
281. Iyu' ne ta'eddo' basakin we' si Salapuddin Bandoho.
282. Na tiggel siye lu'u maglahat.
283. Sabab tumanam-tanam siye, niya' ne basakde, makapagtanem siye.
284. Na subey iye ga'i kasandalanin isab, na ekka me' amban Suk iyan, maglabeyan billa'i.
285. Bahasa song ngagew Pasangenin amban me' Kastila'in pegge' Pasangen inin masaley duma'in du kuwe' ingge basagnen.
286. Subey Pasangen iyan lahat pag'enna'an me' kappal gubelno Kastila'in.

287. Na manjari pegge' ga'i ne kasandalan sa i'en ne hadja, puwa' si Pedro Cuevas inin duk me' tindegnen, hangkan niya' palabey me' Sukin hinapa'an we' de, supaya ga'i lumanjal pi si Pasangen.
288. Na sa i' ne hadja, iye hinanganden.

255. When they fled they were taken to the tip of Pasangen.
256. But at that time, it was still forest there.
257. There they were.
258. They went further inland.
259. They went up to Kabbun Bata'.
260. There were only a few people there.
261. The plantations were not yet there.
262. They were there in the forest.
263. They were not there very long.
264. When they had been there perhaps one month they thought about fleeing.
265. Then they fled near to the mountain Kebbang above the U.P. Land Grant.
266. They stayed there for some time.
267. Up to then they lived off pigs and deer that they shot so that they had something to eat.
268. And when it was evening they went out, searching for food at the edge of the forest.
269. They came as far as Malu'ung, to Ubit and there to Nipa'.

270. One of their companions was called Marshal.
271. This Marshal was a stubborn person.
272. He almost seized the power from Cuevas.
273. So he killed him.
274. Now because one was dead, they were six now, they left from up there in the mountains, from near mount Kebbang.
275. They came down here to Nipa'.
276. In those days the followers of the Sultan of Jolo often planned to attack Pasangen.
277. They (Pedro Cuevas and his companions) were here now at Nipa'.
278. They were working here now.
279. They even made a rice paddy.
280. The ricefield is still here.
281. Salapuddin Bandoho has now obtained the ricefield.
282. They lived there for a long time.
283. Because they liked it there, they had already ricefields and were able to plant.
284. But they did not like it that many of those from Jolo went by there.
285. They were going to seize Pasangen from the Spaniards, because Pasangen at that time was not very strong.
286. But Pasangen was the naval base for the Spanish.

287. Now then, because they did not like that any more, Pedro Cuevas and his followers ambushed the Tausugs whenever they were passing so that they would not proceed to Pasangen.
288. Now, that's what they did.

289. Na ga'i isab lumanjal me' Sukin.
290. Manjari sakayi sa i'en tinagna'an ne we' de pu' Basilanin ginubat inimut-imut sasuku mangga'i mapatuhut si siyehin.

291. Manjari hangkan i'en niya' lahat ta'eddo'de, me' a'anen, na patuhutne si siye.
292. Manjari tindegde ne inimut-imut we' de sampay agen luha ne ta'eddo'den.
293. Ekka ne tindegde.
294. Sampay niya' lella hap inenan Panglima Ataw, ekka tindegne lu'u si Buwahan.
295. Si Panglima Ataw inin lella hap.
296. Ekka tindegne.
297. Hunit bino'o magbono'.
298. Basagan.
299. Na manjari binagay-bagay we' si Pedro Cuevas inin duk me' tindegnen, pegge' bang atuhande magbono' magtawus, na ekka tindegne amban siye.
300. Iye akkalnen binagay-bagay.
301. Lagi' na tege anak hap dende.
302. Na iye ne i'en hinangan si Pedro Cuevas inin.
303. Bang me' kohap-kohap ubus ne siye maghinang, na lumengngan-lengngan, pegge' tapit du pi si Nipa' pala'ihande miya'an.
304. Na sudda-suddanen, na tege pikilan ne.
305. Iye pikilannen, na tege baya' iye si anak si Panglima Ataw miya'an, inenan si Maniya'.
306. Hap dende.
307. Pote'.
308. Na taka-taka hadje pagkalasaden duk si Panglima Ataw.
309. Agen-agen ellew-ellew bang ga' du niya' palengnganande, lagi' ne bang me' kohap-kohap, pi iye lumengngan.
310. Sabab iye ngalasa.
311. Sampay dembuwa' kohap-kohap hinapa'an iye we' me' pagkasine isab me' lella.
312. Mabaya' du isab siye si anak Panglima Ataw miya'an.
313. Na subey iye bessiden me' budjak, pira, barung.
314. Na si Pedro inin, ga' magbo'o sinapang, luwal kalisnen, we' ga'i iyan takeyipatne kalisnen.
315. Manjari si Pedro inin, na pinagtabangan we' a'a tellunganin.
316. Subey si Pedro inin, la'i pe si lahatde si Cavite asal ne mahil si iskirima hatinen magsilat.
317. Sabab samane inin, asal pandey bang ngantan bessi.
318. Na taka-taka binono' we' de ga'i du tewwa', peddangde ga'i du tewwa'.
319. Suddanen magubas tellunganin.
320. Na ga' du isab iye bakat.
321. Manjari kemuwehan miya'an, pabantang ne iye pu si Panglima Ataw, bu ne iye hadje baya'nen si anaknen.
322. Na Panglima Ataw inin makatanggu, mikil-mikil.
323. Subey mekitanggu tellum bahangi.

289. The Tausugs could not proceed.
290. From that time on they began to fight little by little those on Basilan who did not follow them.
291. Whenever they could conquer a place the people there became their followers.
292. They progressed little by little till they had conquered a wide area.
293. They had many followers.
294. There was also one warrior called Panglima Ataw, who had many followers at Buahan.
295. This Panglima Ataw was a warrior.
296. He had many followers.
297. It was difficult to fight him.
298. He was powerful.
299. Then Pedro Cuevas made friends with him and his followers, because if he would fight them immediately, Panglima Ataw had more adherents than he had.
300. His tactic was to befriend them.
301. What's more Panglima Ataw had a child, a beautiful girl.
302. Now this is what Pedro Cuevas did.
303. When it was afternoon and they had finished working he would go walking because they lived near Nipa'.
304. Finally he had a thought.
305. This was what he thought, that he was in love with the daughter of Panglima Ataw who was called Maniya'.
306. Maniya' was a beautiful girl.
307. She was white.
308. Finally Panglima Ataw and he really loved each other.
309. Almost every day when they did not have to go anywhere else in daytime, and especially in the afternoon, he went there.
310. For he courted.
311. Until one day he was ambushed by his fellowmen.
312. They also wanted the daughter of Panglima Ataw.
313. Their weapons, were spears, pira and barung.
314. Now Pedro did not carry his gun, only his kalis (two-edged sword), because he never forgot his kalis.
315. Pedro was ganged up on by three men.
316. But Pedro, when he was still there in his place in Cavite, had really practised fighting with a sword.
317. Because his father was really an expert in handling weapons.
318. Now, when they fought against him, he was not hit, when they slashed him he was not hit.
319. Finally the three ran away.
320. He was not wounded.
321. From then on he spoke out straight to Panglima Ataw that he wanted his daughter very much.
322. Panglima Ataw asked him to wait in order to think.
323. He asked him to wait three days.

324. Na pagabut tangguhin, na balik ne isab hap pi, Cuevas inin, magpa'umey bang sa'ingge ne pagbissahanden.
325. Na manjari ga' ne pagpataha' bissahin, mabaya'.
326. Sabab si Panglima Ataw miha du isab basagne.
327. Hatinen bang tahinangne ayu'an si Cuevas inin na nambahine katalewan we' me' a'ahin.
328. Ngabasag iye.
329. Na si Pedro iye ngabasag sabab ekka tindegne duk lella hap du isab.
330. Bang tameto'ane miya'an namba ne iye ngabasag sabab ekka tindegne duk lella hap du isab.
331. Na manjari papandakte ne bissahin taka-taka takawin.
332. Bahune takawin, ginellal dahu'.
333. Inenan iye Panglima Indu'.
334. Na sakayi siye takawin, niya' isab siye umabut de musim ubus kinawin, na papinda ne siye.
335. Kabaya'an meto'anen maglahat siye si Buwahan.
336. La'i ne dahu' siye maglahat.
337. Na ga' du tumanam si Pedro inin maglahat la'i papuwa' palinda siye pitu si Sengngal duk tu'u ne kateteganden.
338. Na bo'ohannen pinahatul ne.
339. Sabab agen-agen labi ne den tenga' Basilanin tuhut ne si iye, ta'eddo'ne.
340. Luwal sa' me' kapu'an mapaliputin ga' pe te'eddo'ne.

341. Manjari kata'uhan ne we' gubiyelno Kastila'in tabangne si me' Kastila'in.
342. Sabab bang duma'in sabab iye, tantu Pasangenin, iye lahat me' nabal Kastila'in, ta'eddo' we' me' a'a Sukin.
343. Na pagkata'u sa miya'an, sampay si Manila' ne magriport ne Gubelnadulin, we' nabang hadje si gubiyelnode si Pedro Cuevas inin.
344. Na da ellew tekka piyu si Sengngal me Kastila'in duwangan upisiyal duk dambuwa' sibilyan inenan si Don Ramon Larakotseya.
345. Mo'o iye magbissa, bu ne iye kabaya'an Gubelnadulin duk me' sinduwe malangkew si militar Kastila'in, batang magbissa duk iye, makapagmiting si Pasangen.
346. Dina'ak iye nuhut si siye.
347. Na, ga'i hep nuhut si Pedro.
348. Ga'i mabaya' nuhut sabab mag'ang-ang iye taw iye inakkalan.
349. Na, ga' ne.
350. Na balik ne isab me' a'a miya'an.
351. Sakayi balik, ngaku siye pa'amban, bu ne iye dina'ak lumengngan.
352. Pa'inne, "Makajari.
353. Duwangan pa'amban.
354. Ambat isab siye," pa'inne, "guwaldiyahan me' a'akun tu'u.
355. Bang we' sigpitde ku la'i, na matey me' upisiyal inin."
356. Na lumengngan ne siye.

324. When the time was up, Cuevas went back to him; he inquired as to what was the result of their talk.
325. Now, in order not to make the story long, he was in favor of it.
326. The reason was that Panglima Ataw was also looking for power.
327. That meant if he made Cuevas his son-in-law he would be feared more by the people.
328. He would become stronger.
329. Likewise Pedro had the same sort of thoughts.
330. If he had Panglima Ataw as father-in-law his power would be increased as he had many followers and also was a warrior.
331. Now, to make the story short, finally they were married.
332. Before he was married he was given a title first.
333. He was called Panglima Indu'.
334. When they were married, it was about half a year after they were married, they moved.
335. His father-in-law wanted them to live in Buahan.
336. They made that their place first.
337. Pedro did not like it there so they moved here to Sengal and here they stayed.
338. His conduct was good now.
339. Therefore almost more than half of Basilan was following him; he had conquered them.
340. Only the islands surrounding here he had not yet conquered.

341. Now the Spanish government knew that he helped the Spanish.
342. Because if it had not been for him, Pasangen, the Spanish naval base, would have been taken by the Tausugs for sure.
343. The Governor had reported even to Manila that Pedro Cuevas had helped the government greatly.
344. One day two Spanish officials and one civilian called Don Ramon Larakotseya arrived there at Sengngal.
345. They brought him the message that the Governor and others high up in the Spanish military wanted to speak with him, and wanted a meeting in Pasangen.
346. He was told to go along with them.
347. Pedro did not go.
348. He did not want to go along, he hesitated because perhaps he was being deceived.
349. So that was it.
350. So those people had to come back again.
351. When they returned they offered to stay behind as hostages and told him to go.
352. He said "That is possible.
353. The two can stay here.
354. Let my people here guard them," he said.
355. "For if I get into danger there these officials will die."
356. So they went.

357. Kaduwem bahanginen mole' ne siye balik.
358. Ga' du niya' ine-ine.
359. Pagmitinganin bahasa pinaku si iye, bu ne iye andang du
isab bisan ga' tabo'o magbissa, nabang si gubiyelno, pinaku ne
te'ed we' Gubelnadulin duk me' sinduwe Kastila' malangkewin,
bu ne iye dina'ak nabang te'ed ngahatul dem paglahatin.
360. We' me' masa i' me' a'a dem Basilan inin bahani.
361. Me' bangsa Yakan matu'uhin duma'in kuwe' Yakan kuwe'itu
inin.
362. Kabaya'anden magbono'.
363. Duk tagna'nen sinanggupan iye bahasa bu ne iye pinalibri
ne si me' dusenen.
364. Hatinen inurungan ne pardon.
365. Saguwa' ga' pe isab bang ellew i'.
366. Subey bang akuhande bahasa mabo'o siye sulat si hari'in,
si Gubelnadul Heneralin bu ne iye pinaku pinalibri.
367. Umabut piyem bulan, na tinawag ne isab.
368. Inakahan ne iye bu ne iye libri ne.
369. Inurungan iye bahasa nomramiyento.
370. Bahasa inurungan iye kabangsahanne.
371. Bu ne iye, bangsanen bahasa tiniyente absoluto.
372. Ga' ne niya' tu'u gubelnadul, ga' ne niya' huwis.
373. Kemon iye ne mangantanin.
374. Na iye i' ma'umantagin.
375. Iye miya'an matekka si iyehin, bu ne iye makapagbaya' dem
Basilan ne.
376. Ga ne be niya' palangkew amban iye.
377. Na iye ne i', sesuku me' kalahat-lahatan, sesuku me'
kapu'an mapaliput si Basilan inin, me' Saluping miya'an, me
Tapiyantana' iyan, me' Lanawan, sampay me' kapu'an si Suk
sinduwe, sesuku kemon me' kapu'an tuhut tu'u hep iyan si ive
si Basilan.
378. Ta'eddo'ne.
379. Na manjari iye ne i'en, Basilanin ngahap ne.
380. Me' a'a mala'atin ga' ne.
381. Ngahap ne, patuhut ne.
382. Iye pe ga'i patuhut si iye me' bangsa Yakan maglalahatin,
bisan me' Suk, Kasamahan, me' Kiristiyan matu'u si Basilanin
patuhut si iye.
383. Sampay gubelno Kastila'in patuhut.
384. Iye dina'ak magbaya'in.

385. Manjari puwas miya'an papinda ne siye pitu si Lamitan
maglahatin, masaley inenan Gubawang.
386. Me' piyen tahun palabey pegge' iye ne bahasa magbaya'
tu'u dem Basilanin, manjari ngama Sultan si Sukin pegge' ga'i
ne ngurung buwis si iye me' a'a Basilanin.
387. Dambuwa' ellew tekka hep me' katindegan Sultan Sukin iye
panuhutanden si Datu' Julkalna'in.
388. Bang aka-akahin niya' ko' siye pitu' hatus mangalengngan
Basilanin.
389. Ekka munda'an, me' sakayan duk me' sappit.

357. After two days they returned home.
358. Nothing had happened.
359. At the meeting he was asked,--but he had helped the government beforehand even without being asked--the Governor and other important Spanish people asked him and told him to really help them to make peace in the place.
360. In those days the people here in Basilan were bold/aggressive.
361. The Yakans of those days were not like the Yakans today.
362. They wanted to fight.
363. Now he was promised that his case would be dismissed.
364. He would be given a pardon.
365. But it was not in effect then.
366. But they offered to send a letter to the highest judge, the Governor General, to ask that he be pardoned.
367. After several months he was called.
368. He was told that he was free.
369. He was given a name.
370. That is, he was given high status.
371. And this was his status, he was 'Lieutenant absoluto'.
372. There was no governor here, there was no judge here.
373. He was in charge of it all.
374. Now that's what happened.
375. That all came to him and he was made to rule in Basilan.
376. There was no one greater than he.
377. So that was that, all the islands surrounding Basilan, Saluping, Tapiantana', Lanawan, even some of the islands near Jolo, all those islands went along with him, with Basilan.
378. They were conquered.
379. So Basilan was made peaceful.
380. There were no bad people.
381. All were good, they all went along with him.
382. Not only the Yakans, the original people of this place, followed him, but even the Tausugs, the Sama, the Kristianos, all here in Basilan followed him.
383. Even the Spanish government followed him.
384. He was told to rule.

385. After that they moved here to Lamitan; at that time it was called Gubawang.
386. Several years went by and he ruled here in Basilan; then the Sultan of Jolo became angry because the people of Basilan no longer paid tribute to him.
387. One day the followers of the Sultan of Jolo arrived with their leader Datu Julkalna'in.
388. The story goes that seven hundred of them invaded Basilan.
389. They came in many munda', sakayan and sappit.

390. Tekka siye lu'u si Bohe'lebbeng iyan.
391. Pagduwa'ide magtawus siye magpatengge kuta'de.
392. Ubus hinagde kuta'den, magpasan ne siye.
393. Bahasa Datu' Julkalna'in duk me' tindegnen mabaya' magkasuwa' duk binantu manuk peyat Basilanin, iye ne Panglima Indu'.
394. Na manjari pegge' ka'akahan ne iye, mabo'o lapal Panglima Indu' pi si Bohe'lebbeng.
395. "Bang manuk peyat," pa'inne, "ga' niya' tu'u si Basilan.
396. Subey bang manuk pote' niya'.
397. Salta' pasanne ne kemon tindegnen bu ne siye pasampangne.
398. Seddili ne malumengngan amban diyata'in, seddili ne amban tahikin.
399. Duma'in ibuhan a'a mapihin.
400. Bu ne Panglima Indu' duk sinduwe tindegne si Lamitanin magsakayan.
401. Pagtekkade la'i, na agen-agen song magbono' ne sabab sali'-sali' diyalem pakekes.
402. Sakayi duwangan panuhutan miya'an, amban Sukin duk amban Basilanin na'an ne magtingko' duk magbissa ne, sudda-suddanen magkasuwa' ne si bissa.
403. Ga' ne lumanjal me' pikilan mala'atin.
404. Iye ka'ujurannen na, magdagey, maglami-lami, magpansak, magtumahik, magtimbak magtigi'an.
405. Na magisun ne bang sa'ingge kahapanin.
406. Iye kapagisunanden, kabaya'an Panglima Indu'in subey Datu' Julkalna'in tumuhut pitu si Lamitan, si lahatne.
407. Si Datu' Julkalna'in ga' nagga', nuhut ne pitu duk sinduwe me' tindegnen.
408. Ma'ekkahin pinapole' ne we' ne dehellu hap Suk.
409. Sasangde pe la'i si Bohe'lebbeng, tekka hep bessuwang dambuwa' kappal bebono'an Kastila'.
410. Bahasa kappalin balu' pi nabang pu Panglima Indu'.
411. Na pegge' sa i'en ne mawpakkatden, we' Datu' Julkalna'in ngatu du nuhut iye mole' si Lamitan, na nuhut ne siye si kappal miya'an pitu si Lamitan.
412. Puwas da simana tu'u si Lamitan mole' ne siye hap Suk.
413. Magbagay ne siye.
414. Magesseb ne.

415. Manjari tekka hep tita Sultan Sukin bino'o we' dambuwa' pangandelanne.
416. Bahasa bu ne Panglima Indu' hinangne anak, subey sinangenan gellal Datu' Laja Muda.
417. Na i'en hangkan manjari datu'.
418. Sabab gellal amban Sultan Sukin, si Sultan Halun.
419. Hangkan hep inenan iye Kalun pegge' Sultan mangellal iyehin Sultan Halun.

390. They arrived in Bohe'lebbing.
391. As soon as they disembarked they built their fort.
392. After finishing the fort they sent a message.
393. Datu Julkalna'in and his followers wanted to meet with the famous red rooster of Basilan; that is, with Panglima Indu'.
394. So when he was told, Panglima Indu' sent a message to Bohe'lebbeng.
395. "As for red roosters," he said, "there aren't any here in Basilan.
396. But we do have white roosters."
397. So then he sent a message to all his followers that they should meet him.
398. Some should come from the hills and others from the sea.
399. More than one thousand men went.
400. And Panglima Indu' and some of his followers from Lamitan came by boat.
401. When they arrived, it almost came to a fight because they were equally well armed.
402. When those two leaders, the one from Jolo and the one from Basilan sat down and talked, they finally came to an agreement.
403. They did not go ahead with their bad thoughts.
404. The final outcome of it was that they played, had a feast, danced, and had a tumahik and target shooting.
405. Then they thought about what would be the best.
406. Panglima Indu' wanted Datu Julkalna'in to come with him to Lamitan, to his place.
407-408. Datu Julkalna'in did not oppose this and went along with some of his followers.
409. While they were still there at Bohe'lebbeng, suddenly a Spanish warship arrived.
410. That is, the ship went there to find out what was going on and to help Panglima Indu'.
411. Because they had agreed that Datu Julkalna'in should come home with him to Lamitan, they went by that ship to Lamitan.
412. After they had been here in Lamitan for one week they went home to Jolo.
413. They were friends now.
414. They cared for each other.

415. Some time later a title was brought from the Sultan of Jolo by one of his trusted ones.
416. Panglima Indu' should be made his son, he should have the title Datu Laja Muda.
417. In that way he became a datu.
418. Because his title came from the Sultan of Jolo, from Sultan Halun.
419. Therefore he was called Kalun because the one who gave him the title was Sultan Halun.

420. Bang Masa si Datu' Kalun ngantan tu'u si Basilan, na ga' niya' sasew.
421. Bisan a'ahin tuli si tengnga' lan ga' niya' bahani ngusa' iye.
422. Sabab a'ahin kerehitan si iye.
423. Na subey kuwe'itu ne inin pinda ne lahatin.
424. Sabab na tiya' ne duma'in kuwe' me' masa i'.
425. Tiya' ne pinda.
426. Bang masa Datu' Kalun inin ngantananne, ga' hep niya' sasew tu'u dem Basilan.
427. Sampay kapu'anin patuhut kemon si iye.
428. Sesuku a'a maglahat tu'u si dem Basilan duk kapu'anin patuhut kemon.
429. Sabab hap isab kawulnen, hap isab pamo'one si a'ahin kemon.
430. Bisan pa masane bahasa magla'at, na sakayi ne iye manjari panuhutanin si Basilan duk me' kapu'annen, na ga' ne niya' pahap a'a amban iye.
431. Inesseb iye we' me' a'ahin, amban Kiristiyan si Suk-Sama, iye ne labinen me' Yakanin pegge' siye dapu' lahat Basilanin.

432. Hangkan hep sakayi i'en matey, si diyalem pitum bahangi ga' takubul.
433. Sabab patipun me' a'a amban kapu'anin duk me' a'a dem Basilanin pitu tu'u si Lamitan, dukka, magtangis hawa pangessebde duk lasade si iyehin.
434. Na hangkan iye ga'i takubul, sabab si addat Muslim, bang niya' panuhutan kuwe' i'en matey, ga'i makajari kinubul bang ga'i kapihahan ganti'ne.
435. Na manjari sakayi tipun ne kemon bahi'in dem Basilan inin sampay ma' kapu'annen, magisun ne siye bang sine pinaganti' si iyehin.
436. Manjari sakayi magpikilan me' bahi'in, niya' kamanakan Datu' Kalunley duwangan.
437. Anak sakane.
438. Sakane i'en, sakayi ne iye humatul pabettadnen tu'u si Basilan, nulat iye si Gubelnadul Heneralin pakune dina'ak pitu sakane miya'an, inenan Plorensiya Cuevas duk ellanen duk me' anaknen.
439. Tellungan anakne tabo'o mapituhin, duwe lella duk dambuwa' dende.
440. Subey dendehin budjang-budjang ne matey ne tu'u.
441. Sakayi ne tu'u me' anakne miya'an ginellal ne.
442. Iye dehellu ginellalin Cayetano Pamaran pegge' iye sakahin.
443. Sakayi iye ginellal, inenan iye Panglima Musa.
444. Niya' saline inenan si Gabino subey ga' pe niya' gellalne.
445. Manjari pinagpene'an duwangan kamanakanne miya'an bang sine pinaganti' si iyehin.
446. Sinduwe me' bahi'in ga'i mabaya' pu si Panglima Musa pegge' panas-panas koknen, mura ngama.

420. At the time when Datu Kalun ruled here in Basilan, there was no trouble.
421. Even if people slept in the middle of the road, nobody would dare to hurt them.
422. The reason was the people were afraid of him.
423. But nowadays the place is different.
424. It isn't as in the old days.
425. It has changed.
426. At the time when Datu Kalun was ruling there was no trouble here in Basilan.
427. Including the islands, they all followed him.
428. All the people who came to live here in Basilan and on the other islands, all followed him.
429. Because his customs were good, his behavior towards all the people was good.
430. Even though there had been a time when he had been bad, but when he had become the leader in Basilan and the other small islands, there was nobody better than he.
431. He was held in high regard by the people from the Christianos to the Tausugs and Sama, and especially by the Yakans because they were the people of Basilan.

432. Therefore when he died he was not buried for several days.
433. Because the people from the islands had to gather, and the people from Basilan had to come here to Lamitan. They grieved and wept because they remembered him and because of their love for him.
434. The reason that he was not buried was because of the Muslim custom that when a leader dies he cannot be buried as long as there is no one to succeed him.
435. When all the elders from Basilan and the smaller islands had gathered they discussed who should take his place.
436. There were two nephews of Datu Kalun.
437. The children of his older sister.
438. When he was well settled in his position here in Basilan, he had written to the Governor General asking him to send his older sister, her husband and children to Basilan.
439. They brought three children here, two boys and one girl.
440. But the girl died earlier.
441. When they were here the children were given titles.
442. The first one to be given a title was Cayetano Pamaran because he was the eldest.
443. He was given the title Panglima Musa.
444. His younger brother was called Gabino, but he had no title yet.
445. So they had to chose between these two nephews of Datu Kalun as to which one should succeed him.
446. Some of the elders did not want Panglima Musa because he was hot tempered; he easily got angry.

447. Sudda-sudda iye kapagta'allukan me' bahi'in salihin, si Gabino Pamaran.
448. Sarta' ginellal ne ellew miya'an inenan Datu' Murusalun.
449. Iye ne miya'an pinaganti' si mamateyin.
450. Na ellew-ellew miya'an du, ubus ka'enan ganti'nen, bahu kinubul Datu' Kalunley.

451. Na iye inin suwi-suwi sabab Datu' Kalunley.

447. Finally the elders agreed on the younger one, Gabino Pamaran.
448. When he was given a title, that day he was called Datu Murusalun.
449. He was the one to succeed the deceased.
450. On that day when the successor had been named, Datu Kalun was buried.

451. Now that's the story about Datu Kalun.

APPENDIX C

A Frightful Experience

Narrator: Tawira Ilul
Text Analyst: Dietlinde Behrens

1. Manjari dembuwa' sangem ubus ne
so.then one night finish now

kami mangan. 2. Duk pegge' ubus ne kami
we,EX eat and because finish now we,EX

mangan ga' du tiggel tuli ne kami.
eat NEG CERT long.time sleep now we,EX

3. Pag hatu me' lisag sempukdembuwa'
when perhaps APPROX o'clock eleven

duk tenga' takaleku ne si Kakka'
and half CIRC-hear-I now PM older.sister

Ja'linan duk si Nita' magdūs-dūs magmatey ley
Ja'linan and PM Nita' together wail there

si luma' dembuwa'. 4. Sasangku
PTL house one while-I

matulihin pa'asek dem teyngeku
one.sleeping-NPC enter in ear-my

pagkilahapde miya'an. 5. Pa'inku, "Ina',
AFF-shout-their that say-I mother

takalenu ke disi Kakka' ley?"
CIRC-hear-you,SG Q PLPM older.sister there

6. Ga' bisan disi ina' kasambung.
NEG even PLPM mother CIRC-answer

7. Magtuwi ne siye donga' duk si Tao duk
immediately now they get.up and PM Tao and

magubas harap pī. 8. Pagtekka siye la'i
run towards DIR when-arrive they there

nakanakin bebbag ne. 9. Ineddo' ne
child-NPC bruised(blue) already take now

A Frightful Experience

1. One night we had finished eating. 2. And not long afterwards we went to sleep. 3. When it was perhaps about eleven thirty I heard Kakka' Ja'linan and Nita' wailing together in the house next door. 4. While I was sleeping I heard their screaming. 5. I said, "Mother, did you hear Kakka' and the others?" 6. Mother and Tao did not even answer. 7. They got up right away and ran over to the other house. 8. Arriving there they found the baby already blue. 9. Tao took her from Kakka' Ja'linan, but the baby wasn't breathing anymore. 10. Mother simply blew into the ear of the baby, then she went back to the house, to see which of us, Suing or myself, would accompany her to go and get the imam. 11. Suing went along.

we' si Tao amban Kakka' Ja'linan, saguwa'
by PM Tao from older.sister Ja'linan but

ga' ne nakanakin magnapas. 10. Si ina'
NEG now child-NPC breathe PM mother

tinihup hadja we' ne teynge nakanakin, ubus
blow just by her ear child-NPC then

hap luma' balik ngalabey kami, sine-sine
toward house again pass.by us,EX whoever

kami nuhut duk si Suing, bahasa bino'o
we,EX follow and PM Suing that.is take.along

ngeddo' imam. 11. Ubus iye manuhutin
fetch imam then she the.one.go.along-NPC

si Suing.
PM Suing

12. Manjari mata'amban
so.then the.ones.left.behind

maley si luma'in tellungan sa'
the.ones.there PTL house-NPC three CERT

kami, aku duk si Romy duk si Nelson, pegge'
we,EX I and PM Romy and PM Nelson meanwhile

disi ina' duk si Suing harap pī ne
PLPM mother and PM Suing towards DIR now

ngeddo' imam. 13. Ubus la'i ne siye harap
fetch imam then there now they towards

pī. 14. Ubus pa'in si Suing, "Da'a kew
DIR then say PM Suing not you,SG

dahu', Ina', ngeddo' ku dahu' bessi duk
first mother fetch I first knife so.that

'niya' bessite." 15. Ubus miha bessi ne
there.is knife-our,DU then search knife now

si Suing. 16. Ngesuwa' iye dembuwa' duhung
PM Suing find she one hoe

diki' bu tagsu' pe isab. 17. Ubus
small and.besides loose yet also then

12. So three of us were left behind at the house, myself, Romy and Nelson, while Mother and Suing went to fetch the imam. 13. So they were leaving. 14. Then Suing said, "Wait a minute, Mother, I will get a bolo first so that we have a weapon," 15. Then Suing searched for a bolo. 16. She found a garden tool, a small one and the handle was still loose. 17. So they went on their way. 18. But the child was left behind, conscious now, and Tao was constantly rubbing her chest.

pala'us ne siye miya'an. 18. Seguwa' nakanakin
proceed now they that but child-NPC

kasayu ne ngelebba luwa pu'us si Tao
conscious now leave always rub PM Tao

da'akannen.
chest-her

19. Manjari disi ina' miya'an pagla'i
so.then PLPM mother that when-there

siye si bihing bakas koprasanin magsampang
they PTL next.to P koprasan-NPC meet

ne siye duk si Attay duk si Timmy duk Alpari.
now they and PM Attay and PM Timmy and Alpari

20. Bahasa balu' isab siye miya'an
that.is go.find.out also they that

pegge' ga' siye la'i si luma' sangem
because NEG they there PTL house night

miya'an, la'i siye tuli si langgal.
that there they sleep PTL prayer.house

21. Ubus pegge' magsampang siye dina'ak we' si
then because meet they tell by PM

Attay tinuhutan disi ina' duk si Suing pu si
Attay accompany PLPM mother and PM Suing to PM

Alpari. 22. Manjari nuhut ne Alpari.
Alpari so.then follow now Alpari

23. Pala'us ne si Attay pI si luma' disi
proceed now PM Attay DIR PTL house PLPM

Kakka' Ja'linan pegge' si Timmy
older.sister Ja'linan meanwhile PM Timmy

pa'amban ne ley si luma'.
stay.behind now there PTL house

19. Mother and Suing met Attay and Timmy and Alpari when they came to where the koprasan used to be. 20. They also came to find out what was going on, because they had not been at the house that night, they had been sleeping in the prayer house. 21. So, because they had met now, Attay told Alpari to go along with Mother and Suing. 22. So Alpari went along. 23. Attay proceeded to the house of Kakka' Ja'linan, while Timmy stayed behind at home.

24. Ubus ga' pe abutan tekka si Attay
then NEG yet reach arrive PM Attay

ley si luma' disi Kakka' Ja'linan, duk
there PTL house PLPM older.sister Ja'linan and

24. Then, Attay had not quite reached Kakka' Ja'linan's house, and Timmy had not yet come inside, he was still standing

si Timmy ga' pe mana'ik ley pe iye diyawa'
PM Timmy NEG yet climb.up there yet he below

nengge-nengge, paglessa kami hidjul ne disi
standing when-aware we,EX noisy now PLPM

ina'. 25. Iye ne takale kamihin, "A'a
mother this now CIRC-hear we,EX-NPC person

be", duk pagkilahapin ne. 26. "Ingge be?"
CERT and AFF-shout-NPC now which CERT

pa'in si ina'. 27. "O iyu' be", pa'in si
say PM mother oh there CERT say PM

Suing. 28. Ubus magubas ne si Attay harap
Suing then run now PM Attay towards

pī, ga' ne tapana'ik duk si Tao,
DIR NEG now CIRC-climb.up and PM Tao

lebbahanne ne nakanakin magubas ne harap
leave-he now child-NPC run now towards

pī duk isparanen ga' ne dem teguban.
DIR and rapier-his NEG now in sheath

there below, when we heard Mother and Suing shouting. 25. This is what we heard, "A person!" and we heard screaming. 26. "Where?" said Mother. 27. "Oh, there," said Suing. 28. Then Attay ran there, he didn't come into the house anymore, and Tao, he left the child and ran in that direction, his rapier wasn't in the sheath any longer.

29. Ubus pegge' aku isab, bo'oku ne
then meanwhile I also take-I now

disi Romy patapuk. 30. Kannalanku me'
PLPM Romy hide mistakenly.think-I PL

bisaya sōng mapatey. 31. Seguwa' kami
Visayan soon kill but we,EX

mala'i si luma' miya'an, ka'ampat si
the.ones.there PTL house that fourth.one PM

Timmy, ubus harap pī ne kami kēmon harap
Timmy then towards DIR now we,EX all towards

luma' disi Kakka' Ja'linan. 32. Ga' ne
house PLPM older.sister Ja'linan NEG now

niya' a'a luma'.
there.is person house

29. Then I also was thinking of taking Romy and the others to hide. 30. I thought the Visayans were coming to kill. 31. But we, the ones in the house, Timmy was the fourth one, we all then went to the house of Kakka' Ja'linan. 32. There was nobody left at home.

33. Pagtekka kami la'i, si Nita'
when-arrive we,EX there PM Nita'

33. When we got there Nita' kept on broadcasting salt, she

luwa ne magsebulak asin, magtibag me' asin
always now broadcast salt throw PL salt

ne, bisan ley diyalem luma', duk maglingan
now even there inside house and call

asin duk bo'one ku harap pī pu disi Suing
salt and take-she me towards DIR to PLPM Suing

magbo'o asin. 34. Ga' ku ngatu pegge' gey ku
take salt NEG I want because NEG I

bahani.
brave

just threw the salt even inside the house, and she called out 'salt' and she wanted to take me along to bring salt to Suing and Mother. 34. But I didn't want to because I am not brave.

35. Ubus ga' du tiggel tekka ne si
then NEG CERT long.time arrive now PM

Suing duk si Attay magtundan hadja duk
Suing and PM Attay lead.by.hand only and

Alpari. 36. Seguwa' si Suing kuwe' ne a'a
Alpari but PM Suing like now person

ilehihan migpid ne behenen, duk gey ne
abducted shaking now mouth-her and NEG now

magsabut duk megbehoyo ne gey ne ta'u
understand and dropped.open now NEG now can

missā luwa teppet migpid si ka'umagaran.
speak only exactly shake PTL fright

35. Not long after, Suing arrived, being led by the hand by Attay and Alpari. 36. But Suing was like an abducted person, her mouth was shaking and she didn't understand anything, her mouth was just dropped open and she couldn't speak, she was just shaking at the fright she had had.

37. Ubus si ina' ne duk si Tao
then PM mother now and PM Tao

mapala'us ngeddo' imamin. 38. Ubus
the.ones-proceed fetch imam-NPC then

tekka ne siye tinawalan ne nakanakin.
arrive now they treat now child-NPC

39. Duk ekka ne a'a balu'. 40. Kēmon
and many now people come.find.out all

ne me' sawe' kami magtapitin
now PL companion our,EX close.by-NPC

balu' ne.
come.find.out now

37. Then Mother and Tao went to fetch the imam. 38. When they came back the child was treated. 39. Many people came to see what had happened. 40. All our neighbors came to find out.

41. Ubus paghap luma' ne me'
then when-toward house now PL

a'ahin ga' ne niya' sawe' kami,
person-NPC NEG now there.is companion we,EX

luwa sa' kami duwe luma'an miya'an.
only CERT we,EX two household that

42. Seguwa' kami, ga' ne kami mole', la'i
but we,EX NEG now we,EX go.home there

ne kami luma' disi Kakka' sangem
now we,EX house PLPM older.sister night

miya'an. 43. Luwa du mamole'in si
that only CERT the.ones.go.home-NPC PM

ina' duk si Romy duk si Nelson, pegge' me'
mother and PM Romy and PM Nelson meanwhile PL

sinduwehin la'i ne luma' disi Kakka'.
others-NPC there now house PLPM older.sister

41. Then, when the people had gone home, there was nobody else, just us two households. 42. But we, we did not go home, we stayed there at Kakka' Ja'linan's house that night. 43. Only Mother and Romy and Nelson went home, while the others stayed at Kakka's house.

44. Seguwa' si Tao ga' bakas mana'ik
but PM Tao NEG P climb.up

kellawan miya'an, la'i hadja diyawa' magtukun
all.night that there only below light

ebbut, ubus ley si kōkan pegtukunan
fire then there PTL head(of.house) AFF-light

ebbutin ubus ley diyawa' kusina.
fire-NPC then there below kitchen

44. But Tao did not go up into the house all night long, he was just down below lighting fires, there at the front of the house and under the kitchen.

45. Duk si ina' ga' du isab pahali
and PM mother NEG CERT also rest

ley si luma', luwa maglengngan duk
there PTL house always walk with

peyita'annen duk magtukun ebbut. 46. Duk
lamp-her and light fire and

harap pī pe balik, si bakas
towards DIR yet back PTL P

pagpakitelewan ley balik, magpeyita'an duk
AFF-CAUS-fright there back take.lamp and

45. And Mother also did not rest in the house, she kept walking about with her lamp and lighting fires. 46. And she went back, back to the place where they had been frightened, taking a lamp and carrying a sanggut-knife. 47. On arriving there she also lit a fire and scolded. 48. She

magbo'o sanggut. 47. Ubus tekka la'i magtukun
carry knife then arrive there light

ebbut du isab, duk magamã. 48. Ngellangan
fire CERT also and scold call

bakas memekitalew siyehin dina'ak
P the.one-CAUS-fright they-NPC tell

peguwa', "Bisan si' iyan," pa'inne, "kuwe'
come.out even IRR that say-she like

uyat tanduk impenbin, tigtigku iyan.
banana horn teeth-your,PL hit-I that

49. "Gey ku tinalew si ka'am bisan si' ka'am
NEG I afraid PTL you,PL even IRR you,PL

inēnan apu' Anggawin ne, bisan si'
called grandfather Anggawin now even IRR

langkewbi iyan umabut diyata' langit,
tallness-your,PL that reach on.top.of sky

gey ku tinalew si ka'am tebbengte ka'am
NEG I afraid PTL you,PL slash-we,DU you,PL

iyan", pa'inne.
that say-she

called the one who had frightened them and told him to show himself, "Even if your teeth are as big as carabao horn bananas, I will hit you," she said. 49. "I am not afraid of you even if you are called grandfather Anggawin, even if your height reaches up to the sky, I am not afraid of you, I will just slash you."

50. Pegge' kami isab mala'i
meanwhile we,EX also the.ones.there

si luma'in gey isab kami pahali, tinalew.
PTL house-NPC NEG also we,EX rest afraid

51. Duk nakanakin, bisan sasang pinippi,
and child-NPC even while hold.on.lap

bang tetontong ne luwenen kerehitan
if CIRC-look.down now face-her frightened

manamal. 52. Ngaput iye pahaget manamal pu si
very cling she fast very to PM

Attay pegge' si Attay mamippi
Attay because PM Attay the.one.holding.on.lap

iyehin. 53. Seguwa' ngeregse' ellew ga' kami
her-NPC but until day NEG we,EX

50. Meanwhile we at the house did not rest either, we were afraid. 51. And even while the baby was being held on someone's lap, when she looked down she was very frightened. 52. She clung tightly to Attay, because Attay was holding her. 53. We did not sleep until daybreak.

bakas tuli.
P sleep

54. Ubus pagsalung-salungin ne hap
then when-morning-NPC now toward

luma' ne kami. 55. Tekka kami ley si
house now we,EX arrive we,EX there PTL

luma' ga' pe disi ina' bakas maglūn.
house NEG yet PLPM mother P roll.up.mat

56. Pagtekka kami, magtawus kami
when-arrive we,EX immediately we,EX

pabāk bu tuli. 57. Bahu ngape hatu
lie.down and sleep newly wake.up perhaps

ne ellewin sīng lettu.
now sun-NPC edge noon

54. Then when it was morning we went home. 55. When we got there, Mother and the others had not yet rolled up the sleeping mats. 56. We immediately lay down and went to sleep. 57. We did not wake up until the sun was close to the zenith.

FOCAL CONTENT IN SAMA BANGINGI NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

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0. Introduction

One of the current topics of discussion in discourse studies is the distinction between foreground and background information in narrative discourse. Foregrounded material, also referred to as backbone, is that information which keeps the story moving forward. It is normally composed of the eventline. Background information, simply stated, is everything else.

Every language has its own technique for distinguishing the foreground from background. Many of these techniques have been described by Paul Hopper (1979) and Robert Longacre (1980), such as verb tense or aspect, word order, and subject-verb orientation, called by Hopper, 'voice', but referred to in Philippine linguistics as 'focus'. Hopper's work in Malay was of particular interest to me since Malay is related to the Sama Bangingì[1] language which I have been studying. Much of what Hopper described was helpful in analyzing Bangingì narrative, but unfortunately no clear statement could be made defining foreground information in terms of verb morphology or focus.

In turning to other subjects, I began to look at demonstratives and suddenly found myself seeing a system of information differentiation, not unlike that of the foreground-background distinction. This system of information centers around the focal content of a narrative.

Focal content[2] can be likened to the drama of a play and can be defined as the Oxford Dictionary defines drama: a 'set of events having unity and progress and leading to a consummation.' Focal content is that which gains and holds the attention of the audience. Elements of focal content in narrative discourse include a claim or complication and their complements, a fulfillment or a resolution, as well as all the techniques of tension building and suspense which lead from the one to the other. The degree to which a speaker can handle these elements of focal content well to create and maintain tension until a claim is fulfilled or a complication is resolved, is the degree to which he is a good storyteller.

In Sama Bangingi narrative discourse, focal content is marked by a special clitic supported by a set of demonstratives, each with its own function relative to the focal content.

The analysis which follows is based on five narrative texts, each by a different author. Two are fiction with well developed plot structures; two are factual accounts; and one is based on fact, but with some of the details embellished. Text 1 relates an incident which purportedly is the reason why the Bangingi people left their original home and came to the Philippines. Text 2 is a tale about a trickster, Palo Hangin. Text 3 is a first person narrative about an adventure at sea. Text 4 relates a recent murder. Text 5 is an episodic account of a trip some Bangingi took to Dumaguete many years ago.[3]

Each of these texts makes use of the focal content clitic and, with the exception of Text 4, the full set of demonstratives. They do not use all the markers in exactly the same way. The demonstratives in particular have several functions from which the speaker chooses, as will be seen in Section 2.

1.0 The focal content clitic -in

The focal content marker is the clitic -in. It can occur in one of two positions in a clause: either on the end of a noun phrase, or following a temporal setting. The basic function of this clitic in either position is to mark information important to the unity and progression of the story.

1.1 Focal content marked on a noun phrase

The occurrence of the focal content clitic on a noun phrase is the more frequent of the two positions. When the focal content clitic occurs on a noun phrase, it draws attention not only to the noun phrase in which it occurs, but also to the whole clause. The focal content clitic marks pivotal events, and occasionally background information as well, which the speaker considers important to the complication, the resolution, or for heightening the tension between the two. The speaker is saying by the use of the clitic, 'Pay attention to what is happening here; it will have significant consequences.' This is the speaker's claim and alerts the listener to watch for its fulfillment.

While the basic function of the focal content clitic (glossed in the text as -FC)[4] remains the same, the extent to which it is used varies from speaker to speaker. The most restricted use of the clitic is to mark only the elements of peak or climax. This is its use in Text 4, where it marks the disappearance of the murdered man and the subsequent discovery of his body:

(1) Pagbatì	sigaam,	insà	na	mau	iya	si
when.awake	they	not	now	there	the	

Pà	Ibrahim-è	maka	pambot	na-in.
uncle	Ibrahim-that	and	outrigger	his-FC

Pagdomol-domol	sigaam	pê	i	lubid,	bai
when.looked.down	they	there	to	rope	past

kenehet	lubid-in.
cut	rope-FC

When they awoke, Uncle Ibrahim and his outrigger(-in) were no longer there. When they looked down at the rope, the rope(-in) had been cut.

The most extensive use of the focal content clitic occurs in Texts 1 and 2, the fiction narratives with well developed plot structures. This is to be expected since plot is an integral part of focal content in narrative discourse. The use of the clitic differs slightly even between these two texts. In Text 1, almost every clause on the backbone or eventline is marked with the clitic -in on a noun phrase, usually the thematic participant. In Text 2, the clitic marks five clauses which constitute a claim by the author that the action in the clause will have significant consequences, and then also marks the fulfillment of each claim, showing what that consequence is. The claim is not followed immediately by the fulfillment; rather, there is some intervening material between them. Events or background information between the claim and its fulfillment which the speaker considers to be important to the focal content are also marked by the clitic. Diagram 1 shows the second, third and fourth claim-fulfillment pairs from Text 2, including the intervening material marked by the focal content clitic. The noun phrases which contain the clitic are underlined. Note that the same noun phrase is marked in both the claim and its fulfillment. This is the thematic participant for that portion of the text.

claim:	The old woman hands the precious gem to Palo Hangin to hold.
	The old woman tells him to give it back. The old woman follows him as he walks in circles.
fulfillment:	The old woman passes out from dizziness.

claim: Palo Hangin hides the gem in one of twenty sacks of horse dung which he had previously bought.

The captain asks Palo Hangin to allow the sacks to be thrown overboard because of bad weather.

fulfillment: Palo Hangin throws nineteen sacks overboard, retaining the one with the gem.

claim: The captain is happy.

He arrived safely with all his wealth.
The captain opens the sack containing the gem.
He must give Palo Hangin all his wealth in return for the nineteen gems supposedly lost at sea.

fulfillment: The captain is very grieved.

Diagram 1. Second, third and fourth claim-fulfillment pairs from Text 2

1.2 Focal content marked on temporal settings

When the focal content clitic occurs on temporal settings, the speaker is marking stages in the progression of his story. The development which follows the temporal setting is usually significant for the focal content, even if it is not overtly marked as such.

From Text 4:

(2) Sogà bayà kop-in iya taandà
but early evening-FC the able.to.be.seen

è sigaam, tullungan aa mariyatà
by them three men on.top

pelang-pelang.
small.outrigger

But earlier that evening(-in), what they saw was three men in a small outrigger.

When the sequence word aubus 'after/afterwards' introduces a temporal clause, the focal content clitic occurs at the end of the whole clause. When the sequence word stands alone, it functions as a temporal setting and the focal content clitic immediately follows the sequence word itself.

From Text 2:

(3) Aubus nilongawan-in, angollo na
after being.hollowed.out-FC fetched now

After (the log) was hollowed out(-in), he fetched, it is said, a

kondò iya langkay.
DISCL he young.coconut.frond

young coconut frond.

From Text 3:

(4) Aubus-in anambahayang na aku isab
afterwards-FC prayed now I also

luhul...
midday.prayer

Afterwards(-in) I also prayed the midday prayer...

2.0 The demonstratives

There are four demonstratives in Sama Bangingì defined by the position of the referent marked by that demonstrative relative to the speaker and hearer. If the speaker perceives the referent to be near himself, he will choose itu; if he perceives the referent to be near the hearer, he will choose ilu or its bound form -u; if he perceives the referent to be semidistant from both speaker and hearer, he will choose inaan; and if he perceives the referent to be remote in either time or space, he will choose elè or its bound form, -è.

When the demonstratives occur in direct speech, they are usually used in the spatial sense described above, often with a visible referent.

From Text 1:

(5) Na iyuk aa-in, "Inggài kapabillihan in
now said man-FC not able.to.be.sold FOC

nangkà itu, sabab itu tagnà buwà
jackfruit this because this first fruit

nangkà ku, subay sinumbahan pê ni
jackfruit my must be.presented go.there to

datu denda-è, pamuwan ma iya." Iyuk
datu woman-that be.given to her said

denda-in, "Abaya tood aku amangan sin
woman-FC desire really I eat of

nangkà-u."
jackfruit-that

Then the man said, "This jackfruit cannot be sold, because this is the first fruit of my jackfruit and must be presented to that woman datu, to be given to her." The woman said, "I really want to eat of that jackfruit."

The jackfruit has not changed position in this narrative, but the speaker orientation relative to the jackfruit has changed. The man refers to the jackfruit as itu because it is near himself, the speaker. When the woman refers to the jackfruit, she uses *-u*, because the jackfruit is now near the hearer. The woman datu is remote from both, and so receives *-è*.

Outside of quoted material, the demonstratives are not usually used in spatial sense. Rather, they function in narrative discourse relative to the focal content.

2.1 The discourse function of *itu*

The discourse function of the near-speaker demonstrative *itu* is to set the stage for the drama. It occurs principally in three positions:

1) *Itu* occurs in initial settings and initial background information, that is, before the backbone or eventline begins. In sentence 2 of Text 1, we read:

(6)					
In	suwisuwi	kamattoahan	kami,	in	konò
FOC	account	elders	our	FOC	DISCL

Sama Bangingì	*itu*	luwas	melleen	min
Sama Bangingì	these	came.out	from.there	from

tong	Juhur	ma	Malaysia.
tip	Johore	in	Malaysia

According to the account of the elders, *these* Sama Bangingì, (they) reportedly came from the tip of Johore in Malaysia.

2) *Itu* occurs with sequence words (for instance 'afterwards', 'so then') and active settings. An active setting has the form, 'when x, then y', where x is an event and y is either an event or a state. When an active setting occurs with the *itu*, it signals a new episode. In Bangingì, the form is '*Pag* x...*itu*, then y.'

3) *Itu* can also occur in noninitial background information particularly that which follows the episode introducers. When it follows an episode introducer, the noun phrase in which *itu* occurs is always preposed. The following example from Text 2 illustrates the active setting with subsequent background information:

(7)					
*Pag*pê	na	konò	*itu*,	iya	tagdapu
when.went.there	now	DISCL	this	the	owner

kumalà	*itu*,	mattoa	denda.
gem	this	old	woman

When (he) went there, it is said(*itu*), the owner of *this* gem was an old woman.

Clause constituents which contain *itu* are most often in the preverb position. This is true of all sequence words and active settings, and about 75% of the noun phrases. It is this strong preverb tendency of *itu* plus the fact that it occurs in the initial portion of a text and in the initial portions of succeeding episodes which give it its 'stage setting' quality for the following focal content.

The demonstrative itu can also mark background information which is not relevant to the focal content and does not follow an episode introducer. As such, itu is always in a preposed noun phrase and can be interpreted as a topic setting for an embedded discourse. Indeed, one such embedded discourse has its own peak marked with the focal content clitic.

From Text 3:

(8) ...na si Wahid itu, alango. Paghamut now Wahid this seasick when.smelled	Now this Wahid, (he) was seasick. When he smelled the gasoline,
na iya gasolina, alango. Agtuwi paragan ni he the gasoline seasick immediately ran to	(he) was seasick. Immediately (he) ran to the midportion of
tangngà kumpit-in, angutà. middle boat-FC vomited	the boat(-in) and vomited.

This incident has no direct relevance to the focal content of the main story, which is being lost at sea, but it does mark focal content of the embedded narrative.

2.2 The discourse function of ilu

The discourse function of the near-hearer demonstrative ilu/-u appears to be to bring the audience into the action of the drama. It occurs most frequently in direct speech, but whether in direct speech or not, its referent is not necessarily spatially near the hearer. Its use rather connotes familiarity, or some kind of shared knowledge between speaker and hearer, often evoking an emotion such as amusement, fear, scorn or indignation. It usually occurs just before or along with a complication, resolution, or heightening of a claim, bringing the hearer into the story at its peak, as in the following example, which has been edited for the sake of brevity.

(9) Sô iya pinggan pilun na-in, inaan na pàin now the bowls sugar his-FC there still	Now his bowls of sugar(-in), (they) were there, having
nialop-alop è na ma diyatà lamesahan... placed.in.front by him on top table	been placed by him in front (of him) on the table... Now he went
(Palo Hangin thinks of how he will turn the	into action: here and there, as they say,
sugar into money.) ...Sô (action) na konô Now now DISCL	those hands of his did not rest. There now, his elbow knocked the bowls(-in) off!
itu pê paitu iya sambatan sigaam, this go.there come.here the saying their	

inggài na aghalì iya tangan na-u. Elè
not now rest the hands his-those there

na konò tasikmò na na iya pinggan
now DISCL knocked.by.elbow he now the bowls

na-in!
his-FC

The first occurrence of the clitic -in marks the claim. The second occurrence marks the fulfillment. Just before the fulfillment, the demonstrative -u marks Palo Hangin's hands. Palo Hangin's hands are no closer to the hearer than to the speaker, but the use of -u serves to tell the hearer, 'You know what it is like to be working at something so quickly that ...suddenly your hands knock something off the table.' This connotation is also strengthened by the use of the words, 'as they say'. It signifies that the expression, 'his hands did not rest' is idiomatic.

2.3 The discourse function of inaan

The discourse functions for the semi-distant demonstrative inaan are various and apparently unrelated. The two main functions are mutually exclusive:

1) Inaan can mark props, locations and nonactive participants. As such, its referent is specific and it is rarely used for first mention. When it is first mention, its referent is something contextually known, as a location.

From Text 1:

(10) Abayà tood iya amangan nangkà inaan.
desire really she eat jackfruit that

She really desired to eat of that jackfruit.

The jackfruit is a prop, near the action, but only passively involved. The referent is specific and second mention.

From Text 3:

(11) ...paliyu na kami min iya pû
pass.by now we from the island

Sangbay inaan.
Sangbay that

...we had now passed by that Sangbay Island.

Sangbay Island is specific, known, and first mention.

2) Inaan can mark nonspecific, nonactualized referents, and as such, it is always a first mention.

From Text 2:

(12) Aubus nilowangan-in, angollò na
after being.hollowed.out-FC fetched now

konò iya langkay. Salì ba
DISCL he young.coconut.frond like EMPH

nihinang è na banog-banog inaan.
made by him little.sail that

After hollowing out (the log), he fetched a young coconut frond. It was as if he made a little sail(inaan).

The 'little sail' does not exist; it is only a comparison.

In either case, inaan is rarely preposed and rarely occurs on the backbone.

2.4 The discourse function of elè

The discourse function of the remote demonstrative elè/-è is to trace selected participants, props and locations (temporal and spatial). These are usually significant to the focal content, but not always. When they are significant to the focal content, and occur in a complication or resolution, or claim or fulfillment, they can receive the focal content clitic -in, instead of the demonstrative -è (see Section 3.0).

Elè can occur on the backbone, but most often marks background information directly relevant to the focal content. When it does, the noun phrase in which it occurs can be preposed, as in the following example from Text 2:

(13) Pabillihan na na konò iya pinggan pilun
will.sell he now DISCL the bowls sugar

na-è. Manjari, da pinggan-è, iya halgà na,
his-those so.then one bowl-that the value its

tullu pilak... Sò iya pinggan pilun na-in,
three pesos now the bowls sugar his-FC

inaan na pàin nialop-alop è na ma diyatà
there still placed.in.front by him on top

lamesahan.
table

He would now sell, it is said, those bowls of sugar of his. So then, one of those bowls, its value was three pesos ... Now his bowls of sugar(-in), there (they) were, having been placed by him in front (of him) on the table.

The second occurrence of -è is on a preposed noun phrase and introduces background information about the bowls of sugar. The third occurrence of the bowls of sugar is marked for focal content and constitutes one of the claims in this text (see Section 2.2).

2.5 Individualized use of the demonstratives

What has been described above represents some general patterns observed in the use of these markers in narrative discourse. But any particular speaker may have his own individualized use of these markers. For instance, the author of Text 3 seems to have a preference for using inaan with locations, and there are definite regional and subdialect preferences for using inaan in place of elè.

In addition, as can be seen from the descriptions above, the first function of inaan is similar to elè. Two ways have been observed in which speakers distinguish between these two demonstratives. The author of Text 1 generally reserves the use of elè for participants who are remote to the immediate action of the story. Inaan is used for props and participants close to the action but only passively involved. Thus, this author adheres more closely to the spatial definitions of the demonstratives. The other authors use elè to trace a participant or prop through several mentions in a span of text, and use inaan less frequently and for more isolated references, that is, the participant or prop marked by inaan is neither closely preceded nor closely followed by a reference to the same participant or prop.

3.0 Interaction between the focal content marker and the demonstratives

Most of the interplay between markers occurs between elè and the focal content clitic -in. That is, in all but Text 5, at least some of the noun phrases marked by -in in a resolution or fulfillment were previously marked by -è. The point at which this shift occurs from -è to -in, or conversely from -in to -è, varies from speaker to speaker, according to the extent to which he is using the focal content marker, as described in Section 1.1. The other three demonstratives mark different systems and there is less shift from one to the other. Occasionally, however, a participant who receives the focal content clitic in a complication or resolution, will also occur in an episode setting and in that position will receive the demonstrative itu. Similarly, there is occasionally a shift from inaan or ilu to the focal content clitic -in, or from -in to inaan or ilu. The two following extended examples will show how the focal content clitic and the demonstratives interact in a longer stretch of narrative.

The first example is taken from Text 1, the story of why the Bangingi people decided to leave their original home and embark on a migration which eventually led them to the Philippines. The focal content is contained in three complication-resolution sequences. A summary of the first part of the story will be given, after which several sentences will be examined in detail to trace the interaction of the focal content marker and the demonstratives.

The original home of the Bangingi was on the tip of Johore in Malaysia. When the old datu died, his daughter succeeded him. This woman datu was greedy and demanded a share of everyone's livelihood. One day a farmer came down to the shore with the first fruit of his jackfruit tree to present to the datu. On the way he met a pregnant woman who desired very much to eat some of that jackfruit. This is the first complication. After some deep consideration, the man decided to give the woman one piece of jackfruit (the first resolution). Up to this time the man has been marked by -in, the woman datu by -è, and the jackfruit by inaan, except at the resolution, where the jackfruit is marked for focal content by -in.

(14) Palanjal na aa-è pê ni lumà
proceeded now man-that go.there to house

datu denda-in.
datu woman-FC

That man proceeded now to go to the house of the woman datu(-in).

-The man and the woman datu exchange markers. The focal content marker on the woman datu signals that she is becoming thematic.

Na sakali itu, pagpê ni lumà datu
now so.then this when.go.there to house datu

denda-in, sinumbahan na è na in nangkà
woman-FC presented now by him FOC jackfruit

inaan.
that

So then(itu), when (he) went to the house of the woman datu, the jackfruit was presented by him.

-Itu occurs with a sequence word, signalling a new episode. Note also the presence of the active setting (pag), though here it follows rather than precedes the itu.
-The woman datu is still marked for focal content and the jackfruit by inaan.

Niendà na è datu denda-in in
be.looked.at now by datu woman-FC FOC

nangkà-in.
jackfruit-FC

The jackfruit(-in) was now looked at by the woman datu(-in).

-The jackfruit becomes prominent in the focal content. This is the 'moment of truth'; both the woman datu and the jackfruit are marked for focal content.

Manjari, taandà è na salì manga taga-palì
so.then be.seen by her as.if PL have.wound

in nangkà-in.
FOC jackfruit-FC

So then, she saw it was as if the jackfruit(-in) had a wound.

-The jackfruit is still marked for focal content.

Iyuk na ma aa-in, "Angayan itu? Angayan
said she to man-FC why this why

akulang in isi na itu?"
lacking FOC contents its this

She said to the man(-in), "Why is this? Why is the flesh of this lacking?"

-The man once again is marked for focal content. He becomes thematic. Itu is used in direct speech in its spatial meaning.
-This is the second complication.

After some thought, the man relates to the datu all that has happened (the second resolution). Then the woman datu (marked by -in) tells the man that what he has done is not good and that he must go back and retrieve the missing piece, upon penalty of death. This is the third and major complication. The man (-in) is very worried and returns to his place and turns the matter over to the elders. From this point until the peak, which is the third resolution, there is no occurrence of the focal content marker. The woman datu is again referred to by -è, since she is again remote to the immediate action of the story. But the man, because he is no longer directly involved in the action, but remains near to it, receives inaan. The jackfruit is unmarked in its only overt reference. Every other reference, and there are many, is deleted, that is, jackfruit is the understood subject of the verb.

At the peak, the focal content marker appears again, this time marking the pregnant woman when her stomach is opened and the jackfruit seed is found in the mouth of the child. The focal content marker does not occur again, except in a paraphrase of the peak, when those who return the seed to the datu tell her where it came from. Following this, the elders meet again and decide that if this is the way the woman datu is going to rule, they will leave that place and seek another land.

The second example is taken from Text 2, the story of the trickster, Palo Hangin, illustrating the first of the claim-fulfillment pairs mentioned in Section 1.1.

(15) Ubus-in, .. anilaw iya bang aniyà
afterwards-FC asked he if there.is

Afterwards(-in), he asked if there was one selling a precious

agdagang ano minnaan, iya kumalà ba-u.
selling what there the gem EMPH-that

gem(-u).

-The sequence word plus -in marks a stage in the progression of the story. This episode began with a pag...itu active setting seven sentences previously.
-The demonstrative -u connotes shared knowledge.
-This episode began with emphatic particle ba.

(Dialogue follows: Palo Hangin asks to be taken to the owner of the gem. There are no markers.)

Pagpê na konò itu, iya tagdapu kumalà
when.go.there he DISCL this the owner gem

itu, mattoa denda.
this old woman

When he went there(itu), the owner of this gem was an old woman.

-A new episode begins with pag...itu active setting and preposed background information marked with itu.

(Dialogue follows: Palo Hangin offers to pay to look at the gem, then asks to hold it. There are no markers.)

Sinongan ni mattoa denda-in ma iya.
be.handed.over by old woman-FC to him

It was handed over to him by the old woman(-in).

-This is the claim; this action will have significant consequences.

Teggol-teggol konò minnaan, insà isab iya
little.while DISCL there not also he

palahi, nengkô-nengko na pàin iya.
leave sitting-sitting still he

He was there a little while; he did not leave; he just continued to sit there.

Iyuk konò mattoa denda-in, iyuk na, "To,
said DISCL old woman-FC said she son

paituun na," iyuk na.
give.here now said she

The old woman(-in) said, "Son, give it here now," she said.

-Heightening of tension in the focal content.

"Sà salì kaa isab karuhulan na angentan-u
but like you also allowed now hold-that

pila oras na kaa mintu-u."
how.many hours now you here-that

"Now you have been allowed to hold(-u) it how many hours now that you have been here(-u)."

-The demonstrative -u is used in direct speech but not in its spatial sense. It does not occur on a noun phrase, rather on a verb and on a locative pronoun, indicating indignation or impatience.

A, inggài na konò penê è na.
ah not now DISCL put.there by him

Ah, he would not give it back.

Anengge na iya, sigi-sigi konò agdugal
stand.up now he continued DISCL be.angry

mattoa denda-è, hati na, senohò na
old woman-that meaning its commanded now

pinabalik pê ma iya ba.
be.returned go.there to her EMPH

He stood up; that old woman continued to be angry, that is, he was commanded to return it to her.

-The old woman here is not on the eventline. The action is durative and gives background information. Thus the old woman is marked by -è.

Iya konò hinang na, maglengngan mareyom lumà
the DISCL act his walk inside house

sau aglegotan.
like.that in.circles

What he did was, he walked in circles inside the house.

Pàurul konò mattoa denda-u.
follow DISCL old woman-that

That old woman followed.

-The use of -u here anticipates the fulfillment.

Paingga-painggahan, ag-urul-urul isab mattoa
to.wherever followed also old

denda-in.
woman-FC

Wherever he went, the old woman(-in) followed.

-Fulfillment of claim

Elè na atubag mattoa denda-in! there now fainted old woman-FC	And there the old woman(-in) went and fainted!

-Fulfillment of claim; the consequences of handing over the gem.

Hati ku, alegot ba pangandà na-in. meaning my in.circles EMPH vision her-FC	I guess her vision(-in) was going in circles.

-Fulfillment of claim

4.0 Conclusion

Focal content is not the same as the backbone of a narrative discourse. Backbone is restricted largely to the eventline. Focal content is information which the author considers important to the progression and suspense of his story and which leads up to the climax. As such, it may include information other than events; for example, background information important to the plot; and it may not include every event on the backbone.

Focal content and backbone do have at least one function in common, however. Both serve to highlight certain portions of a text above the rest. In Sama Bangingì narrative discourse, the speaker decides what he will highlight as focal content. He does this by appending the clitic -in either to a noun phrase or to a temporal setting. Sometimes only pivotal events, such as the climax, or the complication-resolution complex are marked. In any case, that which is marked for focal content represents what the speaker considers the most important elements of his story.

Each of the set of demonstratives also has its function relative to the focal content. Although precise lines defining the functions cannot be drawn because of overlap in the use of the demonstratives, each one seems to have a 'flavor' of its own, marking different kinds of information within a narrative. The near-speaker itu marks setting information, not necessarily in the sense of time and location, but rather topic settings and active settings which set the stage for a new episode. The near-hearer ilu/-u serves to bring the hearer into the action by implying a familiarity or shared knowledge between speaker and hearer. It often anticipates the fulfillment of a claim. The semi-distant inaan seems to be used for more sporadic references, or for participants or props near to but not actively involved in the action, while the remote elè/-è traces selected but important participants through a text or portion of it, giving background information necessary to the focal content.

The focal content marker plus the set of demonstratives, when used well in the hands of a skillful storyteller, will result in a unified drama which will hold the attention of the audience until the last act is completed.

NOTES

[1] Sama Bangingì is one of several related Sama languages spoken by the Muslim Sama people of the Sulu Archipelago in the southern Philippines. The Sama languages belong to the Sama-Bajaw subgroup of the Austronesian family of languages.

[2] I was introduced to the concept of focal content and its elements of complication and resolution, claim and fulfillment, by Austin Hale of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. I wish here to express my thanks to him. This paper reflects much of his thinking in its approach to the study presented here. For a fuller presentation of the role of focal content in narrative discourse, see Austin Hale, 1980.

[3] The authors of these texts are respectively: Paraja Timbang, Wahi Ruddin Usman, Sulaiman Barhama, Fatima Barhama, and Hadjì Halima Barhama.

[4] The following abbreviations are used in the display of the text:

DISC	disclaimer
EMPH	emphatic
-FC	focal content clitic
FOC	focus marker

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STUDIES IN PHILIPPINE LINGUISTICS

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